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J. Le Keux

VIEW OF CAMBRIDGE FROM CASTLE HILL.

1841.

CAMBRIDGE

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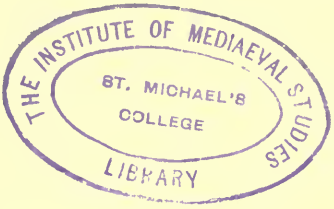
BEING A SHORT HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND UNIVERSITY

By THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON; with an Introduction by JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., Registrary of the University, Late Fellow of Trinity College

LONDON: MACMILLAN and COMPANY, Limited
CAMBRIDGE: MACMILLAN and BOWES: 1897



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CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

PREFACE

I CANNOT claim for this volume that it represents the result of any great amount of original research, although it is the work of several years. Two works in particular have made the task of all later writers on Cambridge comparatively easy. Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* forms the foundation of my history of the Town; while my account of the University is taken, by the kind permission of Mr J. W. Clark, from Messrs Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*. In fact, I have used the latter work so extensively that I have refrained from citing it as my authority except in cases where a particular passage is quoted. All my block-plans of colleges have been reduced from the plans in the fourth volume of the same work.

While, however, there is little in my book that is new to the scholar and the archaeologist, the materials have now been arranged for the first time so as to form a continuous history of the Town; a few architectural descriptions have also been added. In the part relating

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690

to the University, complete lists of University and college portraits are included. Some of these lists have been drawn up by friends whose kindness I have, I hope in every case, acknowledged; for the rest I am myself responsible. I have almost invariably accepted the generally received title and attribution of a portrait, with little or no attempt at verification. Such attempts, even if successful, would have postponed almost indefinitely the completion of the book. I have included nothing with regard to the interesting examples of Plate belonging to the various colleges, as they already find a place in the recent publication *Old Cambridge Plate.*

The admirable drawings of the University and college heraldry have been made by Messrs Walker and Boutall from the shields drawn by W. H. St John Hope, M.A. The blazoning is taken from the same author's Paper in the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. The steel engravings have been selected from those made by Storer, and by Le Keux for the *Memorials of Cambridge.*

I have to thank several friends who have helped me in various ways: Professor Hughes, Professor Ridgeway, Mr J. E. Foster, M.A., Mr Arthur Gray, M.A., Mr W. H. St John Hope, M.A., and especially the Reverend W. Cunningham, D.D. Mr J. E. L. Whitehead, M.A., Town Clerk, has most courteously allowed me access to documents in his custody. To

Mr Robert Bowes my thanks are due for the warm interest he has shewn in every detail of the book, and for much assistance of many kinds.

Throughout my work I have had the invaluable advantage of Mr J. W. Clark's wide knowledge and sound judgment. He has read the whole book both in manuscript and in proof, and it owes much to his careful revision.

I have also to thank the Syndics of the University Press for the loan of several illustrations from the *Architectural History* already mentioned.

T. D. ATKINSON.

CAMBRIDGE,
Michaelmas, 1897.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	v
	INTRODUCTION	xxiii

THE TOWN.

I	SITUATION AND EARLY HISTORY	1
	Situation 1. Castle 2. Name 3. Gild of Thanes 7. The two towns 8. 'The Borough' 9. S. Benedict's Church 10.	
II	THE RISE OF THE MUNICIPALITY	12
	Farm of the town 12. Gild Merchant 15. Right to elect a Mayor 18. Quarrels with the University 19. The Four-and-Twenty 22. Representation in Parliament 25. Maces and Seals 30.	
III	LIFE IN CAMBRIDGE IN THE MIDDLE AGES . .	34
	Local Government 35. Gilds 45. List of Gilds 57.	
IV	TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE	60
	The King's Ditch 61. Market Place 64. Street names 70. Inns and Coffee-Houses 71. Commons 79.	

CHAPTER PAGE

V MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS 81

Guildhall 84. Shire House 88. Gaol 92.

VI LATER HISTORY 96

The Sixteenth Century 96. The Civil War 102. Municipal Reform 114.

VII THE CHURCHES 121

Parish Churches 121. Nonconformists 171. Roman Catholics 177. Cemeteries 178.

VIII THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES 179

Barnwell Priory 180. Priory of S. Radegund 184. Hospital of S. John 194. Stourbridge Hospital for Lepers 198. List of Religious Houses, Hospitals, Chapels and Almshouses 200.

IX STOURBRIDGE FAIR 203

Other Fairs 203. Defoe's account of Stourbridge Fair 207. The Theatre 212.

X MISCELLANEA 214

Perse Grammar School 214. Leys School 218. Old Schools of Cambridge 219. British Schools 221. Industrial School 221. Working Men's College 221. School of Art 223. Training College 223. Technical Institute 224. Addenbrooke's Hospital 224. Henry Martyn Hall 226. Railways 226. Rifle Corps 228. Public Works, &c. 230. Newspapers 232. Societies and Clubs 233. List of distinguished natives of Cambridge 235.

THE UNIVERSITY.

CHAPTER		PAGE
XI	THE UNIVERSITY	241
	History 241. Social Life 254.	
XII	THE SCHOOLS, LIBRARY AND SENATE-HOUSE . .	270
	Schools 270. Library and Senate-House 275. Paintings and Sculpture 288.	
XIII	PETERHOUSE, CLARE AND PEMBROKE . . .	291
	Peterhouse 291. Clare 302. Pembroke 311.	
XIV	GONVILLE AND CAIUS, TRINITY HALL AND CORPUS CHRISTI	322
	Gonville and Caius 322. Trinity Hall 333. Corpus Christi 343.	
XV	KING'S COLLEGE	351
XVI	QUEENS' AND S. CATHARINE'S	373
	Queens' 373. S. Catharine's 386.	
XVII	JESUS, CHRIST'S, S. JOHN'S, AND MAGDALENE .	394
	Jesus 394. Christ's 406. S. John's 415. Magdalene 426.	
XVIII	TRINITY COLLEGE	435
XIX	EMMANUEL, SIDNEY SUSSEX AND DOWNING . .	456
	Emmanuel 456. Sidney Sussex 465. Downing 472.	
XX	SELWYN AND RIDLEY	475
	Selwyn College 475. Ridley Hall 477.	
XXI	GIRTON AND NEWNHAM	479
	Girton College 479. Newnham College 482.	

CHAPTER PAGE

XXII University Buildings and Botanic Garden . 485

Printing Press 485. Museums of Natural Science 487. Woodwardian Museum 488. Observatory 489. Fitzwilliam Museum 492. Divinity School 494. Syndicate Buildings 494. Botanic Garden 495. Portraits 495.

XXIII Societies and Clubs 499

Union Society 499. Philosophical Society 499. Ray Club 500. Cambridge Camden Society 500. University Musical Society 501. Philological Society 501.

Additions and Corrections 502

Authorities consulted 503

General Index 505

Index of Portraits:

Subjects 521

Artists 527

PLATES

		Engraved by	Facing page
View of Cambridge; from Castle Hill, 1841	*By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	*Frontispiece*
The Market Place. Shewing its old form, 1842	*By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	48
Church of S. Mary the Great. Exterior, west end, 1841	*By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	148
Church of S. Mary the Great. Interior, looking east, shewing the throne, 1841	*By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	152
Church of the Holy Trinity. Exterior, from the south-east, shewing the old Chancel, 1830		*Storer.*	168
Church of the Holy Trinity. Interior, looking east, shewing the old Chancel, 1830		*Storer.*	170
Peterhouse: The Chapel. Exterior, west end, 1842	*By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	296
Clare College: The Court. Looking east, 1842	*By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	302
Pembroke College: The Street front, 1842	*By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	311
Gonville and Caius College: The Gate of Humility, 1841	*By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	322

	Engraved by	Facing page
GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE: THE GATE OF VIRTUE. Shewing also the east end of the Chapel. From the Fellows' garden, 1841 *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	328
GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE: THE GATE OF HONOUR. Shewing also the Senate-House, the University Library and King's College Chapel, 1841 . . . . . *By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	332
KING'S COLLEGE: THE OLD COURT. Now the west court of the University Library, 1831 . .	*Storer.*	352
KING'S COLLEGE: THE CHAPEL. Interior, looking east, 1841 . . . . *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	360
KING'S COLLEGE: THE CHAPEL. Exterior, from the south, 1841 . . . *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	368
QUEENS' COLLEGE: THE CLOISTER COURT. Shewing the Hall before its restoration, 1842 *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	374
QUEENS' COLLEGE: THE RIVER FRONT. Shewing also the old town bridge, 1842 . *By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	384
JESUS COLLEGE: THE GATEWAY. Shewing the Gateway and Master's Lodge before their restoration, 1842 . . . . *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	400
CHRIST'S COLLEGE: THE STREET FRONT, 1838 *By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	406
S. JOHN'S COLLEGE: THE SECOND COURT. Looking east, 1840 . . . . *By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	415
S. JOHN'S COLLEGE: THE NEW BRIDGE, 1840 *By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	420
MAGDALENE COLLEGE: THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY, 1842 . . . . . *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux*	426
TRINITY COLLEGE: THE GREAT GATE, 1838 *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	435

	Engraved by	Facing page
TRINITY COLLEGE: THE GREAT COURT. Shewing the Great Gate, the Chapel, King Edward's Gate, and the Fountain, 1838 . *By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	440
TRINITY COLLEGE: THE LIBRARY AND CLOISTERS, 1832	*Storer.*	446
TRINITY COLLEGE: THE HALL. Interior, looking north, 1838 . . . . . *By Bell.*	*Le Keux.*	448
EMMANUEL COLLEGE: THE CHAPEL, 1842 *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	456
DOWNING COLLEGE. As proposed by Wilkins. Shewing the proposed Chapel and Library in the centre, and the existing Master's Lodge and Hall to the right and left, 1842 *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	472
THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, 1841 *By Mackenzie.*	*Le Keux.*	492

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

FIGURE PAGE

1. Block Map of the Neighbourhood of Cambridge. *By the Author* 3

2. The Tower of S. Benedict's Church. *From Willis and Clark* 11

3. Arms of the Borough, granted in 1575. *By Messrs Walker and Boutall* 12

4. Sergeant's Mace, time of Charles I. *By the Author*, 1895 31

   The mace is of copper-gilt and is about 10½ inches long. Only a small part of the cresting round the rim of the bowl remains. This mace was found a few years ago buried among piles of papers in the Town Clerk's office.

5. Seal of 1423. *By the Author, from the cast of a seal in the British Museum* 33

6. Fire hook, preserved in S. Benedict's Churchyard. *By the Author* 39

7. View of King's Parade. *By the Author*, 1896 . 63

8. Part of Hamond's Map of 1592. *From one of the original sheets in the possession of Mr J. E. Foster* . 65

9. The Market Cross. *From Lyne's map of* 1574 . 66

10. The *Wrestlers* Yard. Now destroyed. *By the Author, from a sketch made by him in* 1884 . 73

11. The *Falcon* Yard. Now partly destroyed. *By the Author, from a sketch made by him in* 1883 . 75

12. John Veysy's Trade Mark. *By the Author* . . 77

    The device is carved in a spandril of one of the clunch chimney-pieces which still remain *in situ*.

FIGURE PAGE

13. HOUSES IN SILVER STREET. Now destroyed. *By the Author, from a sketch made by him in* 1883 . 78

14. PLAN OF THE MARKETS AND MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS. *By the Author*, 1896 82

15. THE OLD GUILDHALL. *From Cole's copies of plans drawn by Essex, probably in* 1781, *after the demolition of the building had begun. MSS. Cole, Vol. XII. p.* 151, *in the British Museum* . . . 83

16. PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF S. EDWARD. *From Willis and Clark* 139

17. THE CHURCH OF S. GILES. *From a plan drawn by Mr Walter Bell and from old photographs* . . 143

18. "JESUS HELP BETON." *From MSS. Cole, Vol. II. p.* 43, *in the British Museum* 145

19. PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF S. MICHAEL. *From Willis and Clark* 160

20. PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE. *By the Author, partly from old plans*, 1896. . 165

21. VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE BEFORE ITS RESTORATION. *From an engraving by William Byrne of a drawing by T. Hearne* . 166

22. PLAN OF THE PRIORY OF S. RADEGUND. *By the Author* 187

23. BLOCK-PLAN OF JESUS COLLEGE 189

24. PRIORY OF S. RADEGUND: DOOR OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE. *By the Author*, 1896 190

25. PISCINA IN THE HOSPITAL OF S. JOHN. *From Willis and Clark* 196

26. ARMS OF THE UNIVERSITY, GRANTED IN 1573 . 241

27. CHAMBER WITH STUDIES. *From Willis and Clark* . 257

28. PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR OF THE PERSE AND LEGGE BUILDINGS AT GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE. *From Willis and Clark* 258

29. ARMS FORMERLY ASCRIBED TO THE UNIVERSITY . 270

30. THE SCHOOLS ETC.: PLAN ABOUT 1575 . . . 272

FIGURE PAGE

31. THE SCHOOLS ETC.: PLAN AS AT PRESENT (1897) . 274

32. THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: THE CATALOGUE ROOM. *By the Author*, 1896 276

This view shews one of the original windows and roof principals of 1400, the ceiling of 1600, and the book-cases of 1731. Part of a case is shewn as broken away in order that the original corbel for the roof principal may be seen. The arms are those of Jegon, and are worked in plaster in the south-west bay of the ceiling.

33. THE SCHOOLS: EAST FRONT: C. 1688. AFTER LOGGAN 278

When the east range was destroyed in 1758 the gateway was bought by Sir John Cotton and rebuilt as an entrance to the courtyard of Madingley Hall. At the same time the arch was given an ugly ogee form.

34. THE LIBRARY AND SENATE-HOUSE AS PROPOSED IN 1719. *From the title-page of a book printed in* 1735 280

This view shews Gibbs's design for the front of the Library and for a building to correspond to the Senate-House.

35. THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: EAST FRONT. *By the Author*, 1897 282

36. PETERHOUSE: FOURTH AND PRESENT SHIELD . . 291

37. PETERHOUSE: BLOCK-PLAN 293

38. PETERHOUSE: THE MASTER'S STAIR TURRET. *From Willis and Clark* 294

39. PETERHOUSE: FIRST SHIELD 295

40. PETERHOUSE: THE CHAPEL AND THE ORIGINAL GALLERIES, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN. *From Willis and Clark* 298

41. PETERHOUSE: THIRD SHIELD 300

42. CLARE COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . . 302

43. CLARE COLLEGE: VIEW OF THE ORIGINAL BUILDINGS. *From an old painting. Reproduced, by permission of Mr J. W. Clark, from Proceedings Camb. Antiq. Soc. Vol.* vii, *p.* 197 304

44. CLARE COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 305

45. CLARE COLLEGE: RIVER FRONT, SHEWING ORIGINAL STATE AND ALTERATIONS. *From Willis and Clark* 307

FIGURE PAGE

46. CLARE COLLEGE: FRONT GATE. *By the Author*, 1896 309

47. PEMBROKE COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . 311

48. PEMBROKE COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 313

49. PEMBROKE COLLEGE: STAIR TURRET BETWEEN THE OLD LODGE AND THE HALL. Now destroyed. *From Willis and Clark* 314

50. PEMBROKE COLLEGE: NORTH SIDE OF HITCHAM BUILDING. *From Willis and Clark* . . . 317

51. PEMBROKE COLLEGE: SOUTH GABLE OF THE OLD LODGE. Now destroyed. *From Willis and Clark*. 319

52. GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS 322

53. GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN . . 324

54. GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE SOUTH, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN . . . 327

55. GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE: TOMB OF DR CAIUS. *From Willis and Clark* 330

56. TRINITY HALL: THE SECOND AND PRESENT SHIELD 333

57. TRINITY HALL: BLOCK-PLAN 335

58. TRINITY HALL: FIRST SHIELD 336

59. TRINITY HALL: VIEW FROM THE EAST, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN. *From Willis and Clark* . . 337

60. TRINITY HALL: THE LIBRARY. *From Willis and Clark* 338

61. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . 343

62. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN . . . 344

63. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE: GALLERY CONNECTING THE COLLEGE WITH S. BENEDICT'S CHURCH. *From Willis and Clark* 345

64. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE: THE OLD HALL AND MASTER'S LODGE. *From Willis and Clark* . . 346

65. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE NORTH, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN 348

66. KING'S COLLEGE: THE PRESENT SHIELD . . . 351

FIGURE PAGE

67. KING'S COLLEGE: PLAN SHEWING THE ORIGINAL BUILDINGS AND THE FOUNDER'S SECOND SCHEME, AND ALSO THE OLD SCHOOLS AND THE OLD COURT OF CLARE HALL 355

68. KING'S COLLEGE: FIRST SHIELD 359

69. KING'S COLLEGE: PLAN OF THE CHAPEL AND BLOCK-PLAN OF THE PRESENT BUILDINGS AND OF THE DESTROYED PROVOST'S LODGE 365

70. QUEENS' COLLEGE: FIFTH AND PRESENT SHIELD . 373

71. QUEENS' COLLEGE: THE FIRST SHIELD 374

72. QUEENS' COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 376

73. QUEENS' COLLEGE: ERASMUS' TOWER. *By the Author*, 1896 377

74. QUEENS' COLLEGE: GALLERY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LODGE, C. 1688. EXTERIOR. AFTER LOGGAN. *From Willis and Clark* 379

75. QUEENS' COLLEGE: GALLERY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LODGE. INTERIOR. *From Willis and Clark* . 380

76. QUEENS' COLLEGE: SECOND SHIELD 382

77. QUEENS' COLLEGE: THIRD SHIELD 384

78. S. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . 386

79. S. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 388

80. S. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE: THE GATEWAY. *By the Author*, 1897 390

81. JESUS COLLEGE: THE PRESENT SHIELD 394

82. JESUS COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 396

83. JESUS COLLEGE: FIRST SHIELD 397

84. JESUS COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE SOUTH, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN. *From Willis and Clark* . . 399

85. CHRIST'S COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . . 406

86. CHRIST'S COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 408

87. CHRIST'S COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN. *From Willis and Clark* 411

FIGURE PAGE

88. S. JOHN'S COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . 415

89. S. JOHN'S COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 417

90. S. JOHN'S COLLEGE: THE GATEWAY. *By the Author, from a photograph* 419

91. S. JOHN'S COLLEGE: THE CHAPEL TOWER, FROM THOMPSON'S LANE. *By G. M. Brimelow*, 1897 . 422

92. MAGDALENE COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . 426

93. MAGDALENE COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 428

94. TRINITY COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . . 435

95. TRINITY COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 437

96. TRINITY COLLEGE: PART OF HAMOND'S MAP OF 1592. *From one of the original impressions in the possession of Mr J. E. Foster* 442

97. TRINITY COLLEGE: NEVILE'S COURT, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN 445

98. TRINITY COLLEGE: OBSERVATORY ON THE TOP OF THE GREAT GATE. *From Willis and Clark* . 450

99. EMMANUEL COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . 456

100. EMMANUEL COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN 458

101. EMMANUEL COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN. *From Willis and Clark* 461

102. SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . 465

103. SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE: BLOCK-PLAN . . . 466

104. SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST, ABOUT 1688. AFTER LOGGAN. *From Willis and Clark* 468

105. SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE: PART OF THE NEW BUILDINGS AND THE END OF THE OLD HALL. *By G. M. Brimelow*, 1897 470

106. DOWNING COLLEGE: THE COLLEGE ARMS . . 472

107. SELWYN COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE EAST. *By G. M. Brimelow*, 1897 476

FIGURE PAGE

108. RIDLEY HALL: THE GARDEN FRONT. *By G. M. Brimelow*, 1897 478

109. GIRTON COLLEGE: VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST. *By G. M. Brimelow*, 1897 480

110. NEWNHAM COLLEGE: THE HALL. *By G. M. Brimelow*, 1897 483

111. THE UNIVERSITY PRINTING-PRESS: HOUSE OCCUPIED BY T. BUCK, ABOUT 1625. *From Willis and Clark* 486

112. THE OBSERVATORY FORMERLY ON THE TOP OF THE GREAT GATE OF TRINITY COLLEGE. *From Willis and Clark* 489

MAPS.

I. CAMBRIDGE, ABOUT 1445 . . . . . *after* 504

II. CAMBRIDGE, AS AT PRESENT . . . . *after* 504

INTRODUCTION.

IN the work now presented to the public an attempt has been made, almost for the first time, to deal in a single volume with all that is most noticeable in the Town as well as in the University of Cambridge. Our first idea was to write a mere guide-book, in which a visitor should find the usual information succinctly, and we hoped accurately, stated, with the help of numerous plans and illustrations. But, on second thoughts, it seemed better to deal with so interesting a subject in a less dry and formal manner; to prepare, in short, a book which might still do duty as a guide, but which might be studied at a distance from Cambridge, either by an intending visitor, or by a student; and which, above all, might bring into prominence the fact which is so often forgotten, that the history of the University and the history of the Town are really inseparable from each other.

It has long been the fashion to imagine that the Town has always been a mere appanage of the University; that it grew up, in fact, round the University, as the dwellings of retainers might nestle at the feet of a monastery or a castle. No notion can be farther from the truth than this; and in order to clear it away, as we hope, for ever, Mr Atkinson has thoroughly investigated the whole history of the Town, and related it with what some may be disposed to consider

too great minuteness. I think, however, that those who give themselves the trouble of reading this section of the book with care, will adopt a different view; and even those who are least disposed to take an interest in the affairs of the Town, must recognise the important bearing they have on a right conception of the origin of the University.

It is impossible, as pointed out below (p. 241), to fix any exact date for the foundation of that institution; and, since the publication of Mr Mullinger's admirable work *The University of Cambridge*, no sane person can expect that such a date will ever be discovered. But it is possible to point out some reasons why Cambridge should have been selected as a convenient resort for students. In the latest work on the history of the Universities it is contemptuously referred to as "that distant marsh town,"[1] but the author prudently refrains from any more precise definition of the locality. A little research would have shewn him that the nearest marsh was at least five miles off; and that the town, though distant, was still important. In these days of easy communication between all parts of the country it is difficult to realise that Cambridge, thanks to its Great Bridge, was in the early Middle Age the only point at which the River Cam could be crossed by a traveller who wished to proceed from the eastern counties to the midlands; and that it was traversed by one of the great roads which, whether Roman or not, led direct from London. It possessed a Fair which was one of the most extensive marts of the Middle Ages, and must have made it, as a trading-centre, a place of far greater importance than it is at present; while, by means of the River, it drew an inexhaustible supply of provender and fuel from the Fens and from the port of

[1] *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.* By Hastings Rashdall, M.A. 1895. ii. 349.

Lynn. I can still remember the long trains of barges laden with coal, or heaped high with turf and sedge, which might be seen, on almost every day, either being towed up the stream, or floating down it empty. By this route too it was customary to send heavy merchandize, as cheaper and on the whole safer than by waggon along the king's highway. But, on the usefulness of the river, I cannot do better than quote a passage from *The Foreigner's Companion through the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford*, written in 1748.

> The Air of *Cambridge* is very healthful, and the Town plentifully supplied with excellent Water, not only from the River and Aqueduct already mentioned, but from the numerous Springs on every Side of it, some of them Medicinal. Nor is it better supplied with Water, than it is with the other Necessaries of Life. The purest Wine they receive by the Way of *Lynn*: Flesh, Fish, Wild-fowl, Poultry, Butter, Cheese, and all Manner of Provisions, from the adjacent Country: Firing is cheap: Coals from Seven-pence to Nine-pence a Bushel; Turf, or rather Peat, four Shillings a Thousand; Sedge, with which the Bakers heat their Ovens, four Shillings per hundred Sheaves: These, together with Osiers, Reeds, and Rushes used in several Trades, are daily imported by the River *Cam*. Great Quantities of Oil, made of Flax-Seed, Cole-Seed, Hemp and other Seeds, ground or press'd by the numerous Mills in the Isle of *Ely*, are brought up by this River also; and the Cakes, after the Oil is press'd out, afford the Farmer an excellent Manure to improve his Grounds. By the River also they receive 1500 or 2000 Firkins of Butter every Week, which is sent by Waggon to *London*: Besides which, great quantities are made in the Neighbouring Villages, for the Use of the University and Town, and brought in new every Morning almost. Every Pound of this Butter is roll'd, and drawn out to a Yard in Length, about the Bigness of a Walking-cane; which is mention'd as peculiar to this Place. The Fields near *Cambridge* furnish the Town with the best Saffron in *Europe*, which sells usually from 24 to 30 Shillings a Pound.

Further, in estimating the fitness of Cambridge as the seat of a University, the neighbourhood of the great monasteries of

the Fenland must not be forgotten. Monasteries, especially those which obeyed the Rule of S. Benedict, sent student-monks regularly to the Universities during the historic period; and certain colleges were founded and maintained by their liberality. I need not in this place do more than mention Durham College (now Trinity College), and Worcester College, at Oxford; and Magdalene College at Cambridge. We know too, from the account-rolls of the monastery of Ely still preserved in the muniment-room of the Cathedral, that students were maintained by that House at Cambridge. As monasteries usually acted in concert, in obedience to the resolutions of a General Chapter of the Order to which they belonged, it is at least probable that other Houses, as for instance Croyland, Ramsey, Thorney, Peterborough, Bury S. Edmunds, would emulate the example of Ely, and maintain student-monks at Cambridge. Is it not therefore at least probable, that a similar course of action might have been pursued at an earlier time, and that one or other of the great Houses mentioned above might have taken the lead in selecting Cambridge as a place in which a miniature Paris might be established? For, in studying the early history of the English Universities, it must always be remembered that Paris was "the Sinai of instruction" throughout the Middle Ages; and students who could not resort to it set themselves to work to imitate it as closely as they could.

We speak of the origin of a University as though we had merely to find out when something which has always been the same as it is now came into being. In doing so we forget that a butterfly does not differ from a chrysalis more completely than a modern University does from its medieval prototype. The present meaning of the word *University* is wholly modern. We understand it to signify "a School in

which all the Faculties or branches of knowledge are represented"; but in the Middle Ages it signified

> a number, a plurality, an aggregate of persons. *Universitas vestra*, in a letter addressed to a body of persons, means merely 'the whole of you'; in a more technical sense it denotes a legal corporation...; in Roman Law it is for most purposes practically the equivalent of *collegium*. At the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, we find the word applied to corporations either of Masters or of students; but it long continues to be applied to other corporations as well, particularly to the then newly formed Guilds and to the Municipalities of towns; while as applied to scholastic Guilds it is at first used interchangeably with such words as 'Community' or 'College.' In the earliest period it is never used absolutely. The phrase is always 'University of Scholars,' 'University of Masters and Scholars,' 'University of Study,' or the like. It is a mere accident that the term has gradually come to be restricted to a particular kind of Guild or Corporation, just as the terms 'Convent,' 'Corps,' 'Congregation,' 'College,' have been similarly restricted to certain specific kinds of association.[1]

The term by which a University was denoted in the Middle Ages was *Studium*, or, in the thirteenth century, *Studium Generale*. This term implied three characteristics: (1) that the school attracted students from all parts; (2) that it was a place of higher education, that is, that one of the higher Faculties, Theology, Law, Medicine, was taught there; (3) that such subjects were taught by a considerable number of Masters[2]. Lastly, long established *Studia* of good repute, such as Paris or Bologna, obtained what was called the *jus ubique docendi:* in other words, one of their Masters had the right of teaching in all other *Studia* without any further examination.

It is easy to understand how the two words *Universitas* and *Studium* became synonymous. The teachers and the learners in the *Studium*, when incorporated under a definite

[1] Rashdall, *ut supra*, i. 7.

[2] Ibid. p. 9.

constitution, would naturally be addressed, in their corporate capacity, as *Universitas*, the whole of you; and thus gradually the term which was intended to apply to persons changed its signification and denoted the place.

Let us try, by a slight exercise of the imagination, to transport ourselves to that remote period, some eight centuries ago, when what we call a University began in this place. In every monastery there was a Master of the Novices; and in every Cathedral School there was a Master who taught the scholars. Conceive such a person on his travels—for, thanks to the abundance of monasteries, travelling was as easy in the Middle Ages as at the present day—and coming to Cambridge at a time when the town was full of strangers attracted by the Great Fair. Not unwilling to turn an honest penny, he offers a course of lectures; they find ready listeners; and when they are over, he is entreated to come back next year himself, or to send a substitute. And so the instruction, begun at haphazard, goes on; a room is hired; perhaps a teacher from Paris occupies the lecturer's chair; the hearers increase in number; the neighbouring monasteries, always ready to take up a popular movement, associate themselves with the desire for a wider instruction than their own schools can provide. The work, begun as a temporary expedient, becomes permanent; one teacher is no longer sufficient for the crowd of learners. A second and a third are engaged to assist the first, and to work under his direction. Gradually, out of this directing teacher, a permanent official is evolved who, in later times, is spoken of as the Rector (i.e. the guiding teacher) or eventually as the Chancellor. Finally, some of the local scholars become themselves sufficiently well-informed to act as teachers; separate lines of study are entered upon, or, as we should now say, the body specialises in some particular direction; gradually an organisation of the usual type is

arrived at; the place gains reputation as a *Studium*, and the little body of volunteers is saluted as *Universitas vestra.*

This rough outline of what I conceive to have taken place is borne out by the known history of the University Buildings. A plot of ground was not given to the University for building on until 1278 (p. 271), but we know that before that time the teachers of the day made use of certain houses on or near the site of what is now the Library. The names of some of these Schools, as they were called, have survived, as, 'School of S. Margaret,' 'Gramerscole,' 'Artscole,' 'Law School,' 'Theology School.' Each was probably the lecture-room of a teacher. These teachers were called indifferently Master, Professor, Doctor—terms which were absolutely synonymous[1]. A Bachelor, in our modern sense, did not exist in the Middle Ages. "Bachelorship," says Mr Mullinger, "did not imply admission to a degree, but simply the termination of the state of pupildom: the idea involved in the term being, that though no longer a schoolboy, he was still not of sufficient standing to be entrusted with the care of others."[2]

Student-life in the Middle Ages has been treated of with much thoroughness and ability by Mr Mullinger, and since he wrote, by Mr Rashdall. To their pages we must refer those who desire fuller information than we have been able to give below (Chapter XI.). The subject is full of interest, but the materials are provokingly scanty; and even when they have been thoroughly mastered, the result is to a certain extent fragmentary and disappointing.

When we try to form an idea of what the medieval undergraduate was like, we must begin by forgetting his modern descendant. The medieval student was little better than a boy—probably not more than thirteen or fourteen years old. He must have had a certain preliminary education,

[1] Rashdall, *ut supra*, p. 21.

[2] Mullinger, *ut supra*, p. 352.

not merely in reading, writing, and grammar, but in Latin, for lectures were given in that language. In the early days of the University he enjoyed complete liberty from all discipline and control; for before Hostels were instituted, or at any rate before they were placed under the control of a Master, the 'clerks,' as they were sometimes called, lived where they pleased, and as they pleased, with but little danger of interference from anybody. Human life was not specially valuable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and even a homicide or a murder seems to have been treated as a trifling indiscretion which the Town had better leave to the University; and which the University dealt with as a matter which should be hushed up rather than punished.

With the establishment of Hostels a new era must have set in; and it is to be regretted that we know so little about these institutions. Of one only at Cambridge, namely, Physwick Hostel, have we any detailed account. This, translated from Dr Caius' History, I proceed to transcribe:

Physwick Hostel, situated opposite to the north side of Gonevile and Caius College, from which it was separated by a road, now forms part of Trinity College. It was not let out to hire, as the other hostels were, but was the private property of Gonevile and Caius College. It was afterwards converted into a hostel (*hospitium*) or rather into a tiny (*pusillum*) College, into which, as into a colony, they could banish the too great abundance of their younger members. To provide for their management and instruction they set over it two Principals, called respectively External and Internal, of whom the former resided in the College, the latter in the Hostel. The former was a Fellow of the College chosen by the master; the latter was elected by the 'commensales' of the Hostel and the Exterior Principal conjointly. Both of them lectured in the Hostel and presided as moderators at the exercises of the students, for which they received and divided between them 16 pence quarterly from each resident in the Hostel. The like sums were paid to the Exterior Principal for chamber rent, but applied to the use of the College. In those days more than thirty or forty 'commensales'

resided in that Hostel. It stood and flourished for many years, and put forth many eminent and learned men, of whom some were selected for College honors, and became resident therein, others were called away to fill offices of state[1].

With this may be compared the account which Mr Rashdall gives of the College of Spain at Bologna, derived from the Statutes as revised in 1377.

The College shall consist of thirty scholars—eight in Theology, eighteen in Canon Law, and four in Medicine. The scholars held their places for seven years, except in the case of a Theologian or Medical student who wished to stay up and lecture as a Doctor... The qualification for election was poverty, and competent grounding, 'at least in Grammar.' In the case of the Theologians and Medical students, Logic was also required, and if they had not heard Philosophy before, their first three years of residence were to be devoted mainly to that Faculty. An entrance examination was held, and the College was at liberty to reject nominees who failed to satisfy these requirements. Every scholar received daily a pound of moderate beef or veal or other good meat with some 'competent dish,' the larger part at dinner, the smaller at supper. Wine, salt, and bread were at discretion; but the wine was to be watered in accordance with the Rector's orders. A portion of the allowance for meat might be applied by the Rector to the purchase of salt meat or fruit. We may charitably hope that the College availed itself of this provision on Feast-days and on the Sunday before Lent, when the above mentioned 'portions' of meat were doubled. On Fast-days the ordinary allowance was to be spent on fish and eggs. At a 'congruous time' (not further defined) after dinner and supper respectively, the College re-assembled for 'collation,' when drink was 'competently' administered to every one. Besides commons, each scholar received every autumn a new scholastic 'cappa, sufficiently furred with sheepskin,' and another without fur, and with a hood of the same stuff and colour as the cope, at the beginning of May; and there was an annual allowance of twelve Bologna pounds for candles, breeches, shoes, and other necessaries[2].

It is probable that only a few of the students who matriculated remained at Cambridge long enough to take the Master's

[1] Willis and Clark, ii. 417.

[2] Rashdall, *ut supra*, i. 200.

degree. In fact, unless they proposed to become teachers of others in their turn, such a degree would have been useless to them. Most students probably left as soon as they had got as much knowledge as they wanted, or as they could afford to pay for. The details of the educational course, and the changes through which it has passed—what has survived of medieval practice and what has perished—need not be discussed here. The subject is too wide and too technical for such a work as this. It belongs to the Archæology of Education rather than to the History of Cambridge. Those who wish to enter into it fully should consult the works already mentioned, or Mr Rouse Ball's *History of the Study of Mathematics at Cambridge*.

The Colleges, as explained below (p. 243), were intended at first for teachers rather than for learners. The notable exception was King's Hall (now absorbed in Trinity College) which was founded in 1337 by King Edward the Third, for thirty-two scholars, each of whom was to be at least fourteen years old, and of sufficient proficiency in grammar to study logic or any other faculty which the warden might, after examination, select for him. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the inmates of this House were to be what we now call undergraduates. But in the rest of our collegiate foundations this was not the case, at least at first. The class of "pensioners," namely, those who were willing to pay a fixed sum (*pensio*) for their board and lodging, did not make its appearance for two centuries or so after the promulgation of the Statutes of Merton College, Oxford—the *Regula de Merton*, as it was called—by which the College system was inaugurated. When the pensioners became numerous the need for further accommodation within the College precincts was felt; ranges of chambers were built, and the Hostels were either absorbed or deserted.

It is probable that most persons, when they enter one of our stately quadrangles, imagine that they have before them a structure erected within a few years on a definite plan, conceived from the beginning, and handed to the Founder by some distinguished architect, as happens now-a-days when a new College comes into being. Nothing can be farther from the truth than this very natural view. A unity of plan may unquestionably be discovered in our College courts; but it was not thought of until long after the foundation of the earlier ones.

The Collegiate system was a new invention in 1264. Nobody could foresee whether it would be a success or a failure; and therefore nobody—not even the Founder of it—committed himself to a large and costly range of buildings. As Professor Willis has well remarked:

> The buildings required in the earliest colleges were very simple, consisting of little else than chambers to lodge the inhabitants, a refectory or hall, and a kitchen with its offices to prepare their food. Their devotions were performed in the parish church, their books were kept in a chest in the strong-room, and the master, in the majority of them, occupied an ordinary chamber, so that the chapel, the library, the master's lodge, and the stately gateways, which supply so many distinctive features in the later colleges, were wholly wanting in the earlier ones; and it is very interesting to watch them taking their place in succession in the quadrangles. The attempt to erect a quadrangle on a settled plan, containing the chambers and official buildings disposed in order round about the area, in which form all these early colleges now present themselves, was not made till long after their establishment. For, in fact, until the collegiate system had fairly stood the test of a long trial, it was hardly possible to determine what arrangement of buildings would be best adapted for its practical working, while the continual growth and improvement of the system in each successive foundation demanded enlargements and changes. At both Universities the inhabitants of the earliest colleges were in most cases lodged at first in houses already in existence, purchased by the founder together with the ground on which they stood[1].

[1] Willis and Clark, *ut supra*, iii. 248.

For example, at Peterhouse (p. 293), our earliest college, the scholars were lodged for about 130 years in the dwelling-houses (*hospicia*) which Bishop Hugh de Balsham found standing on the site. The College was founded in 1284, the Hall was built in 1290, and probably a Kitchen and Buttery at the same time, or soon afterwards. But the quadrangle was not begun till 1424, by erecting the range of chambers on the north side, next to the churchyard of S. Mary the Less; and nearly forty years passed by before it was completed. At Clare Hall both Richard de Badew and the Lady Clare used buildings which they found on the site; and the quadrangular form (p. 304) was not completely adopted until after the fire of 1521[1]. At Pembroke, founded 1346 (p. 312), the scholars were at first lodged in houses standing on the site; but the quadrangle was unquestionably erected not long afterwards, and is remarkable as the first at Cambridge in the plan of which a chapel was included. At Gonville Hall, when it was moved to its present position in 1353, the scholars were lodged in houses on the north border of the site. The chapel was built in 1393; the hall in 1441; but the east side, completing the quadrangle, in 1490, or 140 years after the removal[2]. At Trinity Hall the founder built the Hall and the range next the street. The north range was added soon afterwards (in 1374), but the chapel was not built until near the end of the following century. At Corpus Christi, on the other hand, the whole quadrangle (of the older College) was built between 1352 and 1377. It consisted of three ranges of chambers, on the east, north, and west sides, and of a hall and kitchen on the south side. No chapel was intended, and indeed, would have been needless, having regard to the close proximity of S. Bene't's Church, and the fact that the College had been founded by Townsmen, whose

[1] Willis and Clark, *ut supra*, p. 254.

[2] Ibid. p. 255.

beneficiaries would not clash with their fellow-townsmen when they met at church. The buildings of this House have been but little altered, and give an excellent idea of the primitive appearance of a small medieval college.

With the foundations noticed above the medieval period of the Cambridge Colleges may be said to close. It was not until nearly a century afterwards (in 1446) that Queens' College was founded; and by the time that that event took place the collegiate system had become an assured success. It was possible, therefore, to adopt a definite plan for the new foundation.

In this plan (p. 376) the court is entered through a gateway with four turrets placed near the centre of the side next the street. The treasury or muniment-room is on the first floor over the gate. The chapel is on the north side of the court, with the library westward of it on the first floor. The east side of the court to the right and the left of the gate, and the whole of the south side, are occupied by chambers. The west side contains, in the following order, from north to south, the kitchen, the butteries and pantry, the through-passage to the grounds beyond, the hall, and the parlour or combination-room, over which is the Master's lodging, approached by a separate staircase on the west side. There is now a second court, between the first court and the river. It contains on the west side a building apparently coeval with the first court; and on the north side a gallery, forming part of the Master's lodging, built subsequent to the western building and to the cloister on which it is supported.

Now where did this plan come from? We have seen it already at Pembroke College (p. 313), and at Clare Hall; but when it appears at Queens' College it meets with more dignified treatment, so to speak; and is subsequently reproduced at Christ's College and at S. John's College.

The entrance-gateway, a feature peculiar to the architecture of Cambridge, was first seen at King's Hall in 1426. The gate then erected may still be seen, moved from its original position, and somewhat mutilated in the journey, against the west wall of Trinity College Chapel. It was evidently much admired when first built, and was copied at the colleges of King's (in its first position), Queens', Christ's, S. John's, and even at King's Hall itself, the second gateway of which (built 1535), is now the principal entrance to Trinity College. Such gateways would also have been employed again by King Henry the Sixth, had his marvellous design for his enlarged college ever been completed. Unfortunately we do not know whose ingenuity we ought to thank for this brilliant innovation. The medieval system of architecture, where the artist was merged in the constructor, is singularly destructive of individual reputation.

The origin of the general disposition of the collegiate plan can be more easily traced. As Professor Willis was fond of shewing, it is derived directly from the mansions of the nobility, by whom in the 14th century the severity and gloom of the castles was being gradually discarded, and replaced by the quadrangular country-houses, some examples of which still survive. The plan which most nearly approaches that of Queens' College is that of Haddon Hall. Indeed Professor Willis used to say that he was almost afraid of shewing them together, because he felt sure that his audience would say that he had "cooked" them.

It is curious that the monasteries should have contributed so little to the organisation of the colleges. It might have been reasonably expected that a body of celibate persons, like the society of a college, would have borrowed its organisation from the Monastic Orders, one of which, that of S. Benedict, could point to some seven centuries of successful

existence before the Rule of Merton was so much as thought of. But this was not the case. The whole collegiate system was intended to counteract monastic influence; and to provide education which monks should not direct, and by which they should not benefit. There was no objection to their attendance at lectures, or to their taking a University degree; but the colleges were closed to them. *Si quis* [*scholarium*] *in religionem intraverit cesset omnino in eius persona exhibitio prædicta*, says Walter de Merton[1]. In consequence, except in certain technical matters, as for instance the Library, collegiate statutes are not borrowed from monastic rules or customs; and the same separation between the two bodies would seem to extend to the buildings. The distinctive features of monastic life, the cloister, and the dormitory in which all the members of the community slept together, are absent from collegiate architecture; and the whole arrangement, as mentioned above, is a deliberate copy of a plan arranged for the secular as opposed to the religious life.

J. W. CLARK.

26 *July*, 1897.

[1] Statutes, 1274, Chap. 14. Commiss. Doc. (Oxford), i. 27.

THE TOWN

CHAPTER I

SITUATION AND EARLY HISTORY

The frontier of the Iceni. Defensive works across the pass; Cambridge Castle. The Romans. The name Cambridge. The Saxons. The Danes. Condition of the town before the Conquest; the Gild of Thanes. Growth; probably from the union of two towns; S. Benedict's Church.

In early times the eastern part of Britain, held by the large and powerful tribe of the Iceni, was separated from the rest of the island by a natural barrier extending from the Wash to the Thames, a distance of about eighty miles. The northern half of this barrier was formed by the Fens, the southern part by forest. These two almost impassable obstacles were nearly continuous but not entirely so, for between them there was an interval consisting partly of open pasture land, partly of chalk downs.[1] In this interval, and on the margin of the fen, lies the town of Cambridge (fig. 1, p. 3). The only approach to the country of the Iceni—the East Anglia of later times—was along the road known as the Icknield (or Icenhilde) Way, which traversed the above-mentioned interval, and ran over the chalk downs between the forest and fen in a north-easterly direction through Ickleford, Royston, Ickleton,

[1] The limits of the fen can easily be traced; the edge of the forest roughly coincided with, and was no doubt determined by the edge of the boulder clay which forms the soil of Essex; the change from forest to bare open country perhaps determined the present boundaries between the counties of Cambridge and Essex, and Cambridge and Suffolk.

Newmarket and Icklingham. The pass—which at its narrowest point was not more than five miles wide—was defended by a remarkable series of British earthworks which cross it at right angles. These ditches, extending from fen or marshy land to a wooded country, and crossing the narrow open district which lay between, probably formed the best defence that could have been devised against the chariots which played so important a part in primitive warfare, and against the cattle-lifting which was so frequently its object.

These earthworks are nearly parallel to one another and run in a north-westerly and south-easterly direction. Each consists of a bank and a ditch. The ditch is in most cases on the south-west side of the bank, a position which shews that the defence must have been made by the people on the east against those on the west.[1] Where the ditch is to the north-east the works are probably due to the people of the west. As now one tribe, now the other was the stronger, each would advance its boundary and throw up a line of defence with the ditch on the farther side.[2]

The whole of the southern part of the present county, therefore, was, in British times, the frontier district of the Iceni. Though crossed by valleys giving good pasture, and bordering on the fen-land where fish and fowl were abundant, its exposure to raid and warfare must have checked any permanent settlement or continuous prosperity. At Cambridge itself the ancient earthwork known as Castle Hill may belong to the British period, but on this point authorities are divided.

[1] See a paper by Professor Ridgeway (*Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* VII. 200) in which the author shews that the defeat of the Iceni by the Romans under P. Ostorius Scapula in A.D. 50 as described by Tacitus (*Annales*, XII. 31) may, with great probability, be referred to the neighbourhood of one of these dykes, probably either the Devil's Ditch or the Fleam Dyke. The former is about eight miles long. The bank is 18 feet above the level of the country, 30 feet above the bottom of the ditch and 12 feet in width at the top; the ditch is 20 feet wide. These measurements are exceeded in some parts.

[2] The so-called 'Roman Road' is considered by Professor Hughes to be not a road but one of these dykes (*Cambridge Review*, 6 May, 1885).

Hitherto the Castle has been generally accepted as British, while some maintain that it is at least as likely to be Saxon,

FIG. 1. MAP OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CAMBRIDGE.
The vertical shading indicates Fen, the diagonal shading Boulder Clay.

but the evidence on either side is far from conclusive. In British times it lay on a tribal frontier line, and a frontier

town in those times was probably not the important place it became at a later period. The existence of the great Dykes suggests reliance on them as a defence rather than on a border fortress. It may be argued, therefore, that the situation would tell against, rather than in favour of its choice as a military position. On the other hand, the Castle Hill may have formed a useful auxiliary to the dykes in defending a ford.

The same uncertainty exists as to the character of the Roman settlement. While the whole district is thickly strewn with remains shewing that it was extensively occupied by the Romans, there is still no proof that they established at Cambridge a camp or station,[1] or that there was here a town of importance. The commonly accepted identification of Cambridge with the Camboritum of the Romans appears to rest on no surer ground than a resemblance between the two names, and this resemblance is an illusion. The form Camboritum is of the fourth century, whilst Cambridge is not earlier than 1400.[2]

The name of the town was *Grantanbrycge* in A.D. 875 and in Domesday Book it is *Grentebrige*. About 1142, we first meet with the violent change to *Cantebruggescir* (for the county), the change from *Gr-* to *C-* being due to the Normans. This form "lasted, with slight changes, down to the fifteenth century. *Grauntbrigge* (also spelt *Cauntbrigge* in the name of the same person) survived as a surname till 1401. After 1142 the form *Cantebrigge* is common; it occurs in Chaucer as a word of four syllables, and was Latinised as *Cantabrigia* in the thirteenth century... Then the former *e* dropped out; and we come to such forms as *Cāntbrigge* and *Cauntbrigge* (fourteenth century); then *Cānbrigge* (1436), and *Cawnbrege* (1461) with *n*. Then the *b* turned the *n* into *m*, giving Cāmbrigge (after 1400) and *Caumbrege* (1458). The

[1] Professor Hughes, *C. A. S.* VIII. 205, and *Camb. Rev.*, 20 May, 1885.

[2] Professor Skeat, *Cambridge Philological Society*, 23 Jan. 1896 (*Cambridge University Reporter*, 11 Feb. 1896).

long *ā* formerly *aa* in *baa*, but now *ei* in *vein*, was never shortened."[1] The old name of the river, *Granta*, still survives. *Cant* occurs in 1372[1] and *le Ee* and *le Ree* in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century the river is spoken of as "the *Canta*, now called the *Rhee*,"[2] and later we find both *Granta* and the Latinised form *Cāmus*.[3] *Cam*, which appears in Speed's map of 1610, was suggested by the written form *Cam-bridge*, and "is a product of the sixteenth century, having no connection with the Welsh *cam*, or the British *cambos*, crooked."[4]

To return to the Castle Hill. The remains of a fosse and vallum which appear to have formed part of a parallelogram[5] have always been accepted as Roman, and the straight roads which converge on this point would certainly appear to bear out the theory. But, however this may be, there is ample proof that the site was occupied by the Romans, or Romano-British, and after them by the Saxons. It is to the Saxon period that the construction of the Castle Hill is attributed by Professor Hughes, who considers it a thoroughly characteristic English Burh. He thinks that most probably it was constructed in the ninth century as a defence against the incursions of the Danes;[6] and during that and the following century Cambridge is said to have been sacked by them more than once. The last occasion was after the battle of Ringmere, near Ipswich. In that great fight the East Anglians were defeated and all fled "save only the men of Cambridgeshire, who stood their ground and fought valiantly to the last." After the battle, the conquerors advanced and reduced Thetford and Cambridge to ashes.[7]

The Danes, however, have left but little evidence of

[1] Skeat, *ut supra*.

[2] Dr Caius' *History*, 1573, quoted by Willis and Clark, II. viii.

[3] Camden, 1586.

[4] Skeat, *ut supra*.

[5] But we must be careful not to confound these with the remains of the breastworks thrown up by Cromwell.

[6] The whole question of the age of these earthworks is discussed by Professor Hughes in *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* Vol. VIII. (1893), 173.

[7] Freeman, *Conquest of England*, (2nd ed.) I. 344.

settlement in the immediate neighbourhood, if we judge by the place-names in the locality. By far the greater number are purely Saxon. Some few may have a British origin, but the Danish names which cover the map of Norfolk and Suffolk almost cease on the borders of Cambridgeshire. With the amalgamation of conquerors and conquered, however, comes the dawn of definite history. "It is from the time of the Danes that we may trace the beginnings of our towns. The towns were indeed little better than more thickly-populated villages, and most of the people lived by agriculture; but still the more populous places may be regarded as towns, since they were centres of regular trade. The Danes and Northmen were the leading merchants, and hence it was under Danish and Norse influences that the villages were planted at centres suitable for commerce, or that well-placed villages received a new development."[1]

It is with this new chapter in the national history that Cambridge emerges from obscurity. Eminently a well-placed village, it was one of the first to develop into an English town. Under new conditions which allowed advantage to be taken of its excellent situation as a commercial town, it begins to rise into a place of importance. Its position at the head of a waterway communicating with the sea, is a factor in the history of Cambridge the importance of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate. The river was "the life of the trafficke to this Towne and Countie."[2] In direct communication with the Continent by means of the river, and on the only or almost the only line of traffic between East Anglia and the rest of England, Cambridge became an important distributing centre, and the seat of one of the largest fairs in Europe,—for it was probably at this early period that the fame of Stourbridge Fair began to spread and to bring prosperity to the town. This early commercial reputation is now forgotten. Trade has been diverted into

[1] Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I. 88.

[2] Address to King James I., 1614–15 (Cooper, *Annals*, III. 70).

other channels, the great fair has declined, and the renown of the schools has eclipsed the older fame of the town. But none the less Cambridge probably owes her trade, her fair, her schools, and her very existence to the sluggish little river that connects her with the port of Lynn.

Much direct evidence as to the condition or importance of Grantbrycge in the ninth and tenth centuries will not be expected. Coins were struck here by King Edward the Martyr in 979, and by more than one of his successors in the following century. Early in the eleventh century it was governed by its twelve lawmen or 'lagemanni,'[1] its Thanes had formed themselves into a Gild, and comparing it with other towns at the time of Domesday Survey, it is said to have had a "fairly advanced municipal life."[2]

The Gild of Thanes of Cambridge had some points in common with other Anglo-Saxon Gilds whose ordinances are extant.[3] It gave help to members in distress, and the brethren attended the funeral of any one of their number who died. If a brother lay ill at a distance from home, the other members went to fetch him, and they did the like if he died. For neglect to attend on these and similar occasions, a member was fined a measure of honey. But the Cambridge Gild differs in one important respect from others of this period. It made elaborate rules for compensation in case of assault or murder. If a retainer [*cniht*] drew his weapon upon any one, his lord [*hlaford*] had to pay £1, and to get what he could out of his man, the Gild helping him. If any one killed a gild-brother he had to pay £8, or if he refused the whole Gild would be avenged on him. If a gild-brother killed a man accidentally, each gild-brother subscribed to compensate the dead man's relations at the following rates: if the slain were a man holding twelve hides of land each

[1] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 100, 102.

[2] Cunningham, I. 3, 83, 88.

[3] The other Anglo-Saxon Gilds of which we have record are those of Abbotsbury, Woodbury, and Exeter, and the Association of Bishop Wulfstan and his comrades.

subscribed half a mark; if he were a ceorl each gave two oras; if he were a Welshman [*Wylisc*, a foreigner, a man of another town or district[1]] each gave one ora. A gild-brother who killed any one with guile had to bear the consequences, and any gild-brother who did eat or drink with the murderer had to pay £1 unless he could call his two bench-comrades to witness that he knew him not. Every member had to take an oath of fidelity to the Gild. A fine of a measure of honey was imposed on a brother who insulted another, and in case of dispute, the society would support him who had most right.[2] Such is the general tenor of the laws; by what means they were enforced on those who were not members of the Gild we do not know.

Of the situation of the town and of the manner of its growth we must now say a few words.

We have seen that a settlement existed on the west bank of the river at a very early period. Whatever the date of the stronghold round which it clustered, it is, at all events, earlier than anything now existing on the east side. The origin and growth of this east quarter, now much the largest, still remains to be explained. It has been supposed by some that the old town on the west bank gradually spread across the river, but it seems to be more probable that an independent village on the east bank gradually stretched towards the other until the two joined, and the very fact that they had been two was forgotten. The existence of a community on the east side of the river before the Conquest seems to be proved by the style of S. Benedict's Church, the early parts of which are very characteristic of pre-Norman architecture. The situation of S. Benedict's Church so far from the Castle end of the town probably indicates a separate village rather than one con-

[1] But possibly referring to the remnants of the British population which lingered in the fens.

[2] Translations are given by Kemble in *The Saxons in England*, i. 513, and by Cooper in *Annals of Cambridge*, i. 15. A transcript and translation in parallel columns are given by Thorpe in *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, 61. In the latter no attempt is made to translate one or two of the most obscure passages.

tinuous town. Domesday Book records that at the time of the Survey and in the days of the Confessor the town was divided into ten wards, and it appears probable, from the known position of some of those wards, that all were situated near the Castle and on the west bank of the river,[1] and that such settlement as existed on the east side was not considered as part of the town. Castle End was called 'the Borough' within the memory of persons still living.[2]

On the other hand the east part, round S. Benedict's Church, has not, in historic times, been distinguished by a separate name. The old name of Free School Lane, Lortburgh[3] Lane, is the only name that has been preserved which can be thought to suggest a separate village, but this is more probably a personal name.

If the old town had gradually spread across the river we should expect the quarter near the bridge to shew some signs of being older than the other parts of the town. But this is not what we find. Neither the oldest buildings, nor the markets, nor the hithes are near the Great Bridge. Of the hithes, one—the only quay that survives—did certainly adjoin the bridge, but its complete separation from all the others

[1] It is stated that Ward I. was reckoned as two in the days of King Edward, but that twenty-seven houses had been destroyed to make room for the castle which the Conqueror had built. No account is given of Ward VI. It appears that the twenty-seven houses that had been pulled down were in Ward VI., and that the remainder were henceforth reckoned with Ward I. (Bryan Walker, *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Communications*, Vol. v.). Hence we may conclude that Wards I. and VI. adjoined one another. We are also informed in *Inquisitio Eliensis* (507) that Ward II. was called Brugeward, i.e. Bridge-ward, and that there was a church in Ward IV. From the character of the earliest work in old S. Giles' Church, it might be the one referred to. We see, then, that Wards I., II. and VI. and perhaps Ward IV. were close together and near the Castle. As the numbering of the wards would presumably be made with reference to their situation the inference is that the other wards were also on the west bank of the river.

[2] 'The Borough boys' is a nickname still remembered as being applied to the men of the Castle End by the dwellers on the east side of the river. A public house with the sign of "The Borough Boy" still stands in Northampton Street.

[3] There are a great variety of spellings of this name: *Lurteburghlane*, *Lorteburghlanestrate*, *Lurtheburnestrate*, and many others.

rather strengthens the theory of amalgamation than otherwise. In the Middle Ages the greater number of the hithes were between the Hospital of S. John (now S. John's College) and the house of the Carmelites (now part of Queens' College). The part immediately to the east of the bridge indeed seems to have remained unoccupied till a later period than other parts. The Hospital of S. John was placed on a large area which was described, early in the twelfth century, as waste ground. The Jewry lay between the old Church of All Saints and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a fact which alone almost proves that that site was, at the time of the settlement of the Jews, a suburban district lying between the two towns. The part between the Jewry and the river is laid out with a regularity not observable in other parts of the town; this suggests a comparatively late settlement.

Other indications point to the same conclusion. The more modern eastern half of the town contains the markets, with the Tolbooth, or Town Hall. Considering how fixed such things were in the Middle Ages, it is more probable that they still occupy their original sites than that they were moved from the Castle End. The fact that this quarter was enclosed by a ditch, apparently for the first time in 1215, seems to shew that it was at that time a comparatively new town.[1] Each of these indications considered by itself is slight, and perhaps they are not very convincing when all taken together, but they must be given and accepted for what they are worth.

If the existence of a separate village on the east side of the river be allowed, it is natural to connect it with S. Benedict's Church. This building is clearly pre-Norman, and exhibits a strongly marked contrast to those buildings which are known to have been built by the Normans, as for instance, the Churches of S. Peter and S. Sepulchre.

This church, then, probably served a township separate and distinct from that on the west bank of the river, and situated on a level headland more convenient for trade and

[1] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* (Hardy, 234 b.).

especially for a trade requiring wharves. Houses then sprang up along the roads leading to the bridge and to Barnwell, leaving the spaces between them unoccupied save as gardens. And when the two villages did become united they seem to

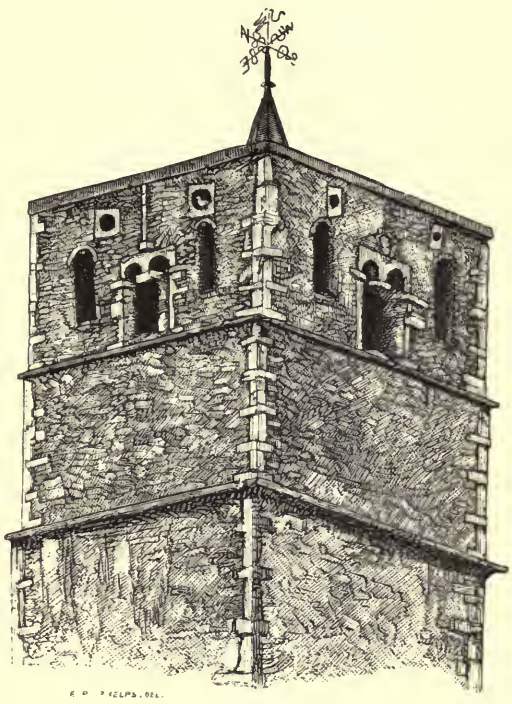

FIG. 2. THE TOWER OF S. BENEDICT'S CHURCH.

have formed a straggling incompact town, with some of its parishes stretching far out into the country, a long way beyond the ditch which King John caused to be made for its defence.

FIG. 3. ARMS GRANTED IN 1575.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE MUNICIPALITY

Cambridge a town in royal demesne. Grant of farm of town to burgesses. Monopoly of river trade and jurisdiction of town, about 1118. Farm raised from £45 to £60, 1190. Charter granting a Gild Merchant and jurisdiction in civil cases, 1200–1; the Gild Merchant. The right to elect a Provost, 1207. Election of coroners, 1256. The University; disputes with town, riots. Charter to University, 1267–8. Petition for leave to hold property, 1330. Town records. The Four-and-Twenty. Burgesses in Parliament, 1295. Attack on University, 1381. Loss of some franchises. Maces. Seal.

THE first and perhaps the most important consideration in the municipal history which we propose to sketch in the present chapter is the fact that Cambridge was a town in ancient or royal demesne. In other words, the jurisdiction was vested in the king himself, not in any other lord. The history of English towns is chiefly the history of a long struggle on the part of the burgesses to get the jurisdiction

into their own hands, and this struggle was generally longer and more severe, and, it must be confessed, to us more interesting, in the towns on feudal or ecclesiastical estates than in those in ancient demesne. The king had less interest than other lords in the petty details of local government, and less concern in retaining authority in small matters, and he was therefore more ready to delegate to the burgesses themselves, for an adequate consideration, his jurisdiction and the profits thence arising. This delegation was always made by charter.

The first step towards independence was a financial change. The town had no separate existence from the county of which it merely formed a hundred. The first move towards separation was a separation of the finances. The contribution from the town to the royal exchequer had been originally merged in that due from the whole county. The burgesses got the sheriff to agree to accept a fixed sum from the town apart from the rest of the county. Their next object was to have the privilege of making their payments direct to the king. Hitherto they had been collected by the sheriff of the county, who had farmed the taxes from the king, paying him a sum agreed upon beforehand, and making what he could out of the taxpayer. This system answered the king's purpose very well. It ensured to him—or was supposed to ensure—the punctual and regular payment of the taxes, and it saved him the trouble of collecting them; and there can be little doubt that it suited the sheriff equally well, and that he and his assistants all made their profit on the transaction. But how hardly it bore on the burgesses is shewn by their anxiety to escape from the clutches of the middlemen and to make their payments direct to the king. The sheriff had no lack of means wherewith to enforce his demands and retaliate on the burgesses if they were not sufficiently prompt in their payments. We read in Domesday that it was complained of the Norman sheriff of Cambridgeshire that he had deprived the burgesses of their common

pasture, "that he had required the loan of their ploughs nine times in the year, whereas in the reign of the Confessor they lent their ploughs only thrice in the year, and found neither cattle nor carts."[1]

The efforts of the burgesses of Cambridge, as of other towns, were therefore next directed towards ridding themselves of this part, at least, of the authority of the sheriff. Early in the reign of King Henry I., they petitioned that the town might be granted to them at a fixed rent equal to that hitherto paid by the sheriff. This privilege, which many other towns were at that time striving to obtain, is the first recorded step towards municipal liberty in Cambridge. Its importance is shewn by the large sums which the burgesses were prepared to pay on receiving the grant, in addition to continuing the same payment as the sheriff had made.

The amount agreed upon appears to have been £45 a year. We find that all through the Middle Ages the farm of Cambridge was frequently given as a dower to the queen. The earldom of Cambridge and Huntingdon has been almost invariably held by a member of the royal family. What connection with royalty these facts indicate, or how and when such, if any, connection arose, we cannot say.

The next charter, "so far as its provisions are intelligible, seems to have been intended to secure to this borough a monopoly of the trade of the county, as also to provide for the inhabitants the benefit of a domestic judicature."[2] As such the burgesses doubtless considered it a concession of the

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 18.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 25, where the following translation is given:

HENRY, King of England, to Hervey Bishop of Ely and all his Barons of Grantebrugeshire, greeting; I prohibit any boat to ply at any shore of Grantebrugeshire, unless at the shore of my borough of Cantebruge, neither shall carts be laden, unless in the borough of Cantebruge, nor shall any one take toll elsewhere but there; and whosoever in that borough shall forfeit, let him there do right; but if any do otherwise, I command that he be at right to me thereupon before my justices when I command thereupon to plead. WITNESS, the Chancellor and Milo of Gloucester.

Mr Cooper considered that this charter was granted about 1118.

greatest importance. Indeed these two liberties, to hold the farm of the town and to exercise the jurisdiction within it, were the privileges on which the burgesses set the greatest store. Almost all subsequent grants were enlargements or confirmations of these two rights. But these and other privileges were forfeited at the death of the king, and at the beginning of each reign the town was at great pains and cost to get its charters confirmed. It appears that the privileges were not renewed by Henry II. till towards the end of his reign, and that in the meantime the sheriff had held the town at farm.[1] In 1185 the burgesses paid to the king the sum of 300 marks and a mark of gold, or 309 silver marks in all, to have the farm; the old monopoly of the river trade is said to have been renewed at the same time. Richard I. renewed the grant in the second year of his reign, when the amount to be paid into the Exchequer appears to have been raised from £45 to £60 a year, but the town had also to pay a heavy fine for the grant of the privilege.

The former grants were renewed by King John at the beginning of his reign, and during the next few years two important charters were obtained by which the liberties of the town were greatly enlarged. The first of these is dated at Geddington the 8th January 1200–1.[2] Its most important provisions are: (1) That there should be a Gild Merchant; (2) That all civil cases between burgesses should be heard within the borough. The first of these grants demands more than a passing notice.

[1] HENRY, by the grace of God King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, To his Justices, Sheriffs, and all his Ministers and faithful People, greeting: KNOW YE, that I have delivered at farm to my burgesses of Cambridge my town of Cambridge, TO HOLD of me in chief by the same farm which the Sheriff is now accustomed to render, that they may answer at my Exchequer. AND therefore I command that the aforesaid burgesses and all theirs you keep and maintain as my own, and that none do injury, molestation, or hurt to them in anything, for I am unwilling that they should answer to anyone thereof, except to me, at my Exchequer. WITNESS, Roger, son of Remfridus, at Kenilworth. (Cooper, *Annals*, I. 28. 1185.)

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 31.

The members of the Gild Merchant were to be free of all toll on crossing rivers and bridges or on selling goods, and of tolls within the fair and without, through all the King's lands, saving always the liberties of the City of London. These tolls were paid by all other burgesses, and exemption from them was the great privilege of the members of the Merchant Gilds which were being set up at this time in so many boroughs.[1] The grant of a Gild Merchant was often equivalent to the grant of a monopoly in trade to a favoured few. "The words 'so that no one who is not of the Gild may trade in the said town, except with the consent of the burgesses,' which frequently accompanied the grant of a Gild Merchant, expresses the essence of this institution. It was clearly a concession of the exclusive right of trading within the borough."[2] But membership of the Gild was probably open to every burgess or freeman on payment of an entrance fee, and on taking oath to observe its statutes and to pay 'scot and lot,' that is, tolls and rates, towards the municipal expenses. Those who were "foreign" to the town were only able to obtain trading rights by purchasing them from the Gild, and none but freemen were permitted to sell by retail at ordinary times; but even so the monopoly must, in effect, have ceased. The chief duties of the Gild would be protecting and furthering trade interests, regulating matters connected with industry, and perhaps giving assistance to members in need.

"The meetings of the Gild Merchant were generally called

[1] According to Dr Gross, the earliest distinct references to the Gild Merchant appear in a charter granted to Burford, about a century before this. In the meantime some five and twenty boroughs had obtained the privilege. Some important towns such as Bury St Edmunds, Canterbury, Derby, Gloucester, Ipswich, Lynn, and Yarmouth formed a Gild Merchant at almost exactly the same time as Cambridge, but the great majority at a later period. Dr Gross also shews how a borough, in applying for a charter frequently copied the terms of one granted to some other town. The Cambridge charter of 1201 was, he says, copied from that obtained by Gloucester in 1199, while that was in part an exact transcript of the charter of Richard I. to Winchester. (Gross, *Gild Merchant.*)

[2] Ib. I. 43.

'gilds' or 'morning-talks'....The number held yearly varied in different places and in different periods; annual, semi-annual, and quarterly meetings seem to have been the most common. At these assemblies new members were admitted; punishment was inflicted for breaches of the statutes; and new ordinances were made. Each Gild had its own peculiar enactments, defining its privileges and prescribing rules of conduct for its brethren. At the regular meetings, or on days specially appointed, there was much eating, drinking, and merry-making; 'drynkyngs with spiced cakebrede and sondry wynes, the cuppes merilly servyng about the hous.'"[1]

The Gild Merchant—having control over trade and industry,—soon became, and for some time continued to be, an important department of the municipal government. But the Gild was in some places, though not in Cambridge apparently, gradually supplanted by the craft gilds, which rose in number and power in the fourteenth century. The work which it had formerly done was now performed by the gild of each craft. Craftsmen were freely admitted into the Gild Merchant, which probably included, even in later times, the whole body of burgesses, while at Cambridge, by an ordinance passed in the middle of the sixteenth century, all freemen were obliged to be members of the Gild and to attend its meetings.[2] As its active life, for trade purposes, ceased, the Gild was, to a great extent, merged in the Common Council of the town, though it never became actually identical with it. The offices of the two corporations were frequently filled by the same persons. The very hall of the Gild was transferred to the town; lent at first to the Common Council for its meetings, it became in course of time town property. It was thus that the town hall so frequently came to be known as the Guildhall.

Even when the utility of the Gild Merchants ceased with regard to trade, they still retained the position of religious gilds, or became a particular phase or function of the

[1] Gross, i. 32. [2] Cooper, *Annals*, II. 2.

municipality, in its character, namely, of a trade monopoly, or they gradually dwindled down to a periodical civic feast of the privileged few.[1] It must be confessed that it was the latter fate which befel the Gild Merchant of Cambridge. Some religious ceremonies connected with it lingered on and were revived at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when it was ordained by the Common Council "that the Guylde, called Guyld Merchant, shall be kept agayne as yt hathe been used in tymes past, on the Sondaie after Relique Sondaie, and that Mr Maior shal be Alderman thereof for this yere, and the Tresorers Masters thereof."[2] Clearly the Gild Merchant had now come to be thought of as nothing more than an annual church-going, followed probably by a feast.

To return to the days of King John. The principles of local government were developing rapidly, and the second of the two important charters granted by that king conferred on the burgesses no less a privilege than the right to elect the chief officer of the town for themselves, "whom they will and when they will."[3] It also gave, in perpetuity, the farm of

[1] Gross, I. 161.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II. 93. Relic Sunday was the third Sunday after Midsummer Day.

[3] JOHN, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, TO our Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Justices, Sheriffs, Provosts, and all our Bailiffs and faithful People greeting: KNOW YE that we have granted, and by this our Charter have confirmed to our Burgesses of Cambridge the town of Cambridge, with all its appurtenances, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD it for ever of us and our Heirs to them and their Heirs; RENDERING therefore yearly at our Exchequer the ancient farm, to wit forty pounds white and twenty pounds tale of increase, for all services by their hands at two Exchequers in the year. WHEREFORE we will, and firmly command that the aforesaid Burgesses and their heirs shall have and hold the aforesaid Town with all its appurtenances well and peaceably, freely and quietly, entirely, fully and honourably, in meadows and feedings, mills, pools and waters, with all their liberties and free customs; WE GRANT also to them that they shall make of themselves a Provost whom they will and when they will. WITNESS William Bishop of London, Peter Bishop of Winchester, John Bishop of Norwich, Josceline Bishop of Bath, Geoffrey Fitzpeter Earl of Essex, the Earl of Aubermale, Wm. Briwerr, Geoffrey de Nevill, Reginald de Cornhill. GIVEN by the hands of Hugh Wells, Archdeacon of Wells, at Lambeth, the eighth day of May in the eighth year of our reign. (Cooper, *Annals*, I. 33. 1207.)

The two Exchequers were held at Easter and Michaelmas.

the town, which had formerly been held only during the life of the king by whom it was granted. Nevertheless the burgesses continued to ask each new king to confirm their charters and were ready to pay him handsomely for so doing.

Some time during the next thirty years the earlier title of Provost was changed for that of Mayor. The earliest extant document in which this title occurs is a commission issued by King Henry III. in 1235, "empowering the Sheriff, together with Matthew Grescyen and Henry de Coleville, by view of the mayor and twelve approved men of the town, to appease all controversies, so that the poor should not be too much aggrieved, nor the rich too much spared."[1] The controversies, whatever they were, had led to the seizure by the king of the town franchises, which were only restored on payment of a fine of 100 marks. In 1256 the liberties were further enlarged. The election of coroners, with duties much more various than at present, was granted to the burgesses, and regulations as to arrest for debt and other matters were made.

From the period we have now reached, namely, the middle of the thirteenth century, the quiet progress of the town history is interrupted by a rival body, which rapidly grew in importance, and was destined for a very long time to be a thorn in the side of the burgesses. The birth of the University is lost in obscurity, and fable of course assigns to it a very remote antiquity. But there appears to be no distinct reference to it in any known document earlier than the thirteenth century, and the Hundred Rolls shew that even in 1278 it cannot have been a numerous or wealthy body. But from that period the growth of its privileges was rapid, and overshadowed to some extent those of the town. Henceforth the charters obtained by the two bodies are in great part concerned with their antagonistic liberties. There were at this time no colleges, the scholars being quartered in the houses of the townsmen. It was, therefore, impossible for

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 42.

the University authorities to exercise much control or maintain much discipline among the crowd of schoolboys under their charge, or to protect them from fraud or extortion, and there was every opportunity for discord and rioting. At a time, too, when the burgesses were bent on enlarging their liberties in every direction, and especially on obtaining complete jurisdiction within the town, a rival jurisdiction was set up by removing offending scholars from the power of the Mayor and handing them over to the Chancellor. The ill feeling which was always smouldering occasionally broke into flame, as in 1261, when a free fight took place, in which houses were plundered and the records of the University were destroyed. Sixteen townsmen were executed for the part they had taken in the riot. A similar outbreak occurred in 1322, but these risings were slight compared with the Peasant Revolt of 1381, which, at Cambridge, was directed chiefly against the University.

In consequence of this state of affairs a charter was granted to the University in 1267—8, and, though it is not recorded, a similar charter must have been given to the town, providing for the maintenance of public order as well as for the regulation of prices. The University charter commands that there shall be two aldermen and also four of the more discreet and lawful burgesses of the town to assist the mayor and bailiffs in preserving the King's peace, and in keeping the assizes of the town, and in searching out malefactors and the receivers of thieves. Every parish was also to elect two men of the parish who should swear that they will once a fortnight enquire if any suspected person lodges in the parish. Another provision is directed against regrators, or those who bought goods merely to sell them again at a higher rate. Regulations are also made for the assise of bread and beer. The test was to be made twice a year, within fifteen days of the feast of S. Michael, and about the time of the feast of S. Mary in March. Every baker should have his seal, and every brewer should shew his sign, so that those whose bread

or beer lacked weight or quality might be known. Those brewers and bakers who offended for the third time were condemned to the pillory or tumbrel. Wine was to be sold indifferently to clerks as to laymen. Finally the town should be cleansed and kept clean, and the town ditch should be cleared out, for doing whereof two of the more lawful burgesses in every street were to be sworn before the Mayor.[1] The cleansing and the paving of the streets was for long after this a trouble to both the University and town, and not seldom a source of discord between the two bodies.

The charters of Henry III. were renewed in 1280 by Edward I., and in 1313 Edward II. again confirmed them and granted some new privileges.

Edward III., early in his reign, renewed the charters given to the burgesses by his predecessors,—on payment of a reasonable fine,—and also granted their prayer that they might have notice of any petition presented by the University. Though the burgesses cautiously prefaced this request with the statement that the divers franchises and privileges of the two communities of clerks and laymen were not repugnant "as the law might suppose," yet the privileges of the University must almost always have been gained at the expense of the town, and we can hardly doubt that the object of the burgesses in asking for such notice was that they might oppose the petitions of the rival body. The town at the same time put forward a third and more important prayer, namely, "That whereas they held the town at fee farm of the King at £62 per annum, towards payment whereof they had no certain means, except by small tolls and customs from strangers who came into the said town with merchandise on the market-day, which were nearly done away with by the franchises granted to great lords and their tenants; they therefore prayed that they might approve (enclose) the small lanes and waste places in the town." The answer to this petition was, "That as to approvement, good

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 50.

men should be assigned to inquire by strangers if the King might grant their prayer, without damage to him or of others; and that on the return of the inquest, the King would be advised."[1] In this petition the corporation, it would appear, for the first time sought licence to hold property, and it is unfortunate that we do not know the final decision of the King. A few years later (1347) the town Treasurer's accounts (the earliest extant) shew receipts[2] from various shops, but when these came into possession of the corporation does not appear.

From the middle of the fourteenth century the materials for the history of the town become fuller and more interesting. Ordinances drawn up by the Town Council and the accounts presented annually by the Treasurers give some valuable details of the system of government. The earliest volume of the town records, known from old time as "The Cross Book," also dates from this period. It begins with a Kalendar, slightly illuminated, and some extracts from the first chapters of the Gospels of S. Luke and S. John. These leaves may possibly have formed part of a volume used in the Middle Ages for swearing the members and officials of the Corporation.[3] They are followed by a collection of ordinances and miscellaneous matters down to the time of Henry VI.

The town had now had Mayors or Provosts for nearly a hundred and fifty years, but the manner of their election and of that of the Council and Officers, and to what extent these originally represented the popular will, does not appear. In 1344 the Town Council made an ordinance prescribing the manner of election. Whether this was a new departure or simply re-stated the old custom, we do not know. It appears that the commonalty had considerably more voice in the matter than was usual in the boroughs at that period. The whole of the new council was elected by two men, one of

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 84. 1330.

[2] Amounting to 99 shillings.

[3] Historical MSS. Commission, First Report, Appendix, 99 b.

whom was appointed by the outgoing mayor and council, and the other by the commonalty. It would, therefore, appear that each of these two interests would be equally represented in the new council, while the new mayor would have a casting vote.[1] The council thus constituted was for long known as "The Four-and-Twenty," and the same mode of election continued, with little variation, till the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the town had reached complete municipal independence, and we are able to see with some clearness the working of the system of government which it had developed.[2] The fully developed staff as it survived at a later time, and as, in its main elements, it probably existed about the fourteenth century, consisted of a Mayor, four Bailiffs, twelve Aldermen, twenty-four Common Councilmen, two Treasurers, four Counsellors, two Coroners, Town Clerk and Deputy Town Clerk; these appear to have formed the executive. Other officers were, the High Steward, the Recorder, Deputy Recorder, and Chaplain. The servants or inferior officers were the Sergeants-at-Mace, the Waits or town musicians who also acted as watchmen, the Pindars who

[1] The following translation of this ordinance is given in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, I. 96. BE IT REMEMBERED that on the day of election of mayor and bailiffs of the town of Cambridge in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the Conquest, of the assent of the whole commonalty of the town aforesaid, IT WAS ORDAINED AND APPOINTED, that for the future the election of mayor and bailiffs, aldermen, councillors and taxors of the town aforesaid, be under this form, to wit, that one approved and lawful man of the commonalty by the mayor and his assessors sitting on the bench, and another like unto him, by the said commonalty, shall be elected. Which two men being sworn, shall enter the chamber, and there shall elect twelve approved and lawful men of the commonalty aforesaid, in the Guildhall being on the same day; which twelve shall choose to themselves six, and then the aforesaid eighteen, in the presence of the commonalty, shall swear that they will elect a certain mayor, fit and sufficient for the government of the town aforesaid, four bailiffs, two aldermen, four councillors, and two taxors of the town aforesaid, fit and sufficient, for whom they will answer. AND this constitution was recited and confirmed to endure for ever, so that those two first choosing the twelve, be not in the election.

[2] For a list of all the charters granted to the town see Chapter VI.

empounded stray cattle and had charge of the commons, and the Cook.

The powers possessed by this governing body were ample,—indeed they were in theory not very far short of those exercised by the Town Council of to-day. They included jurisdiction in a large class of cases both civil and criminal, the collection of the rent due to the king, police, paving and cleaning the streets, the control of the commons, registration of apprentices, the assise of bread and beer, the control of the market and the regulation of trade generally. The expenses incurred by the Four-and-Twenty in the exercise of these duties were met by a special house tax called High Gable rent,—a corruption of Hagable[1] or Hagafol,—a land tax of a similar nature known as Landgable, by customs on all goods brought into the town, rents of booths in the market, by fees for the admission of freemen, fees and fines arising from the civil jurisdiction and from the registration of the transfer of property,[2] and by other small dues. Some of the offices from which profits arose were farmed out to individuals by the corporation, as in earlier times the taxes had been farmed out by the king. The holders of these farms were armed with small maces as warrants of their authority. The paving was paid out of special tolls on goods brought into the town for sale,[3] and the provision of soldiers and boats in time of war out of a rate levied for the purpose; neither could be imposed but by permission of parliament; the other principal items of expenditure under ordinary circumstances are suggested by the duties which we have mentioned as being undertaken by the Four-and-Twenty. But in addition to these there was a heavy annual bill for presents, for with presents of all kinds and to all sorts, both high and low, did the Mayor grease the wheels of the somewhat cumbrous Municipal wain. A few examples may be given here. In

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 18.

[2] Granted by Charter, 1385.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 62.

the town treasurer's accounts, we find, for instance, the following:

John Dengayne, sheriff, for the new gift to him that he would not take victuals, £3; to the undersheriff for the same, half a mark.

To Sir William de Thorp, justice, 40*s.*; to his clerk, 2*s.*

To the messenger of the Lord the King, coming for the armed men, 40*d.*

To a messenger carrying the writ for a ship, 2*s.*[1]

Rewards to undersheriff and sheriff's clerk for their good behaviour towards the burgesses, 20*s.*[2]

In a present, namely, one pipe of red wine by the mayor and burgesses of this town, given this year to the Lords de Tiptoft and de Powys, 66*s.* 8*d.*[3]

Item, payed to John Lyne at the commandment of Mr Maior for a present yoven to my lord Crumwell, vij[li].

Item, for a Reward to my lorde Crumwells players, iij*s.* 4*d.*[4]

Two dishes of marmylade & a gallon of ypocrasse, ix*s.* iiij*d.*[5]

To the King's poett, x*s.*[6]

Something may here be said of the representation of the borough in Parliament. Cambridge was one of the towns which returned members to the great Parliament called by Edward I., in 1295, the first in which the boroughs generally had been represented. The town chose Sir John de Cambridge and Benedict Godsone. Sir John de Cambridge was a man of note in the town, and afterwards became a justice of the King's Bench. He was twice Alderman of the Gild of Corpus Christi, a post held subsequently by John Duke of Lancaster. He was evidently a man of means, for he presented to the gild a very valuable piece of plate, and to the college of Corpus Christi, which the gild had founded, a large number of houses. He himself lived in one of the very few houses in the town which were built of stone. The electors were probably, as they were at a later period, a select body of twelve burgesses. The Members were no doubt each paid the

[1] 1347. [2] 1426. [3] 1436.
[4] 1540. [5] 1561. [6] 1614–5.

shilling a day for their expenses required by Act of Parliament; the town treasurer's accounts for this period have unfortunately not been preserved, but at a later time they contain entries for this account. In 1425, for instance, the sum of £8 is charged for the expenses of William Weggewode and Roger Kyche, burgesses of Parliament, for 80 days, at 12*d.* each per day. The same charge is repeated in other years, and in 1427 it is specially ordained that the payment of members shall be limited to a shilling a day, and the rate remained the same in 1549; in 1563 it was raised to two shillings a day.[1] In the year 1424 the members had been allowed two shillings, but the town appears to have been engaged at about this time in the important work of obtaining a renewal of its charters from John, Duke of Bedford, the young king's guardian. We find a shilling charged for wine at the house of William Weggewode, then representing the town, "in the presence of the Mayor and other burgesses, occupied about business touching the town," and the treasurers also deliver to William Weggewode "for the confirmation of the King's Charter, to wit of green wax, £4."[2] In the last year of the reign, the Town Council forbade the election of any person who was not a resident within the town, upon pain of forfeiture of 100 shillings to the treasurers of the aforesaid town, by every burgess who shall take upon himself to act contrary to the ordinance aforesaid.[3]

Although Parliament itself had legislated on the subject, the mode of electing members of Parliament was determined by each town in its own way. The Town Council of Cambridge in 1452 ordain "that the two burgesses of the Parliament should be chosen by the most part of the burgesses in the Guildhall at the election, and not one for

[1] The last payment of which we have record was made in 1660–1. (Cooper, *Annals*, III. 493.)

[2] A Charter of Green-wax was a grant of fines, issues, and amerciaments, etc. The name was derived from the colour of the seal appended to the process for the recovery of them. Ib. I. 178.

[3] Ib. I. 211, 1460. An Act of Parliament to this effect was passed 1417.

the bench by the Mayor and his assistants, and another by the commonalty, as of old time had been used: and that none thereafter should be chosen burgesses of the Parliament, unless resident and inhabitant within the town."[1] About a century later the system was changed and the mode of election was similar to that in use for municipal offices. The Mayor and the Four-and-Twenty chose one man and the commonalty another; these two elected, from the various wards, eight burgesses whose duty it was to elect the members.[2] The two electors originally chosen by the Mayor and commonalty had to take oath "that they were in no case laboured, by the Mayor or any other person, to choose any special person to be of the election."[3]

In 1556 a very important change was made. It was agreed by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Four-and-Twenty that the next election of Burgesses in Parliament should be in the accustomed manner, except that the man who had hitherto been chosen by the commonalty should be chosen by the Four-and-Twenty, the Bailiffs, the Treasurers, and those who had borne the office of Bailiff or Treasurer, and that no commoners should be called to the election. "This ordeinance to stande for this onely tyme upon triall and prove what quietnesse may ensue hereof."[4] Burgesses were elected accordingly but it does not appear what quietness did ensue or how long the ordinance remained in force.

The system adopted at the Parliamentary and Municipal

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 205.

[2] Ibid. I. 422. Corporation Common Day Book. Tuesday after Epiphany, 1544–45.

MEMORANDUM that the same daie & yere, for y^e^ eleccion of the Burgesses of the Parliament, The Mayor & his Assystants for y^e^ bench have namyd one manne, viz. John Rust; And the Commonaltie have chosen one man, viz. John Fanne; w^ch^ two men, have chosen viij men, viz. for the Bridgge Ward Will^m^ Richerdson cowper, Will^m^ Ragge; for the market ward Richard Brasshey, W^m^ Gryffyn; for the highe ward John Norman, Harry Osbourne; for the Preachers ward Christopher Taylor & Will^m^ Pratt; w^ch^ viij have chosen for Burgessys of Parlyament, for the Parlyament to come, theys two, viz.:

M^r^ THOM^s^ BRACKYN,
M^r^ SYMON TRUE.

[3] Ibid. II. 44.

[4] Ibid. II. 108.

elections appears to have given the Burgesses an equal share with the Four-and-Twenty in the choice of representatives. But there are not wanting indications that as time went on the occasions on which the popular voice might make itself heard became less frequent. The general tendency of English municipal history towards an oligarchical form of government by a close corporation, appears, though perhaps in a modified form, in our own borough. But if the elections were ever popular even in the widest sense of the word as it was then understood, they were by no means so in a modern sense. Votes were strictly limited to the 'burgesses' or freemen, as they were till the reforms of the present century, and the only question is to what extent even the burgesses had a share in the elections, the commonalty or 'mean people' being rigidly excluded. But we hear very little of popular tumults or risings against authority. At the end of the thirteenth century indeed it is recorded that the poor complained to the king of the exactions of the rich who levied tolls upon them without reasonable cause, and, in the middle of the sixteenth century, riots occurred here as in other parts of the kingdom, on the enclosure of commons. But on the whole the Four-and-Twenty appear to have given the mean folk little cause for complaint.

The great factor in this harmony was probably the constant presence of a common enemy in the University to which we have already alluded. The feeling which subsisted between the two bodies is shewn by the character which the general rising of 1381 assumed at Cambridge. The energy of the mob was chiefly directed against the University,[1] and especially against books and documents and all evidences of privileges and titles to property possessed by the University. Late on a Saturday night they assembled at the Tolbooth,—the Mayor, it is said, being present and approving their

[1] But partly also against the collectors of the Poll Tax (see below, Chap. IV.) and the retainers of the Duke of Lancaster. Powell, *Rising in East Anglia in* 1381.

action,—when it was agreed that the house of the bedell of the University should be destroyed, and the bedell himself, if he were found, should have his head cut off. The first part of the resolution was carried out, and the rabble then proceeded to Corpus Christi College and Great S. Mary's Church, breaking into both and taking away all charters, writings and books. On the following day they forced the University authorities to execute deeds and to seal them with the common seal, renouncing all their privileges. They compelled the Masters of Colleges to deliver up their charters and letters patent and burnt them in the Market Place. The riot still continued on the Monday, till Henry le Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, marched out of Rutlandshire with a few men-at-arms, and attacked the mob, killing some and taking others prisoners. Cambridge was one of the towns excepted from the general pardon granted to the rebels in most parts of the kingdom. All the town franchises were seized and forfeited. After due enquiry certain of them were returned, but the fee-farm was raised from 101 marks to 105 marks, and some privileges were transferred permanently to the University. Henceforth the Chancellor was to make the assise of bread and beer and wine, the survey of weights and measures, enquiry as to forestallers and regrators and other matters connected with the sale of victuals. In all these things the Mayor and bailiffs should not interfere, but should therein humbly aid and attend the Chancellor.

These quarrels dragged on through centuries. Charges were made before the king by either side; compositions were drawn up defining the duties and powers of each; the rivals were at loggerheads again before the ink was dry; arbitration was attempted by the first Edward before he became king, by the Lady Margaret, by Henry VIII.—that of the latter was of a somewhat severe order—only to fail. But the battle, in the end, died out. As the complicated jurisdiction of the Middle Ages became simplified, as the students were withdrawn more into college buildings, and

as manners softened, the riots, the pillage and burnings, the petty quarrels and endless litigation dwindled into nothing more serious than a 'town and gown' row, of which the "Tom Thumb Riot" of 1846 is perhaps the most striking modern example.

We have sketched the gradual increase of authority delegated by the king to the corporation, and we must now say something of the symbol of that authority, namely the Mace. The Mace, as the outward sign of his power, accompanied the Mayor on all public occasions. By it he shewed that he acted on behalf of the king. Whenever the king visited the town the Mace was immediately delivered up to him, when he would touch it with his hand and return it to the Mayor. Unfortunately that want of reverence for antiquities as such, which was so remarkable in our forefathers, frequently led them to destroy their old maces and get new ones which they no doubt thought much smarter and more fashionable.[1] How many times the Cambridge maces underwent this process we do not know, but the five at present in use date from the first half of the eighteenth century. The Great Mace has an iron rest which supports it in a nearly upright position. This rest, which is ornamented with a silver-gilt escocheon, is unique, and is therefore of some interest, but the maces themselves are of the usual form with arched crowns, and are of no great artistic merit.[2]

[1] In 1564, when Queen Elizabeth was about to visit the town the Treasurers paid "to Thomas Hutton Goldsmithe for mendinge of the greate mase and gildinge it, xx^{s}." In 1610 we find the charge, "Item, for the great mace new making, xiiij^{li}. vj^{s}."; and in 1612 "Item, for makinge of the mases new, xiiij^{li}."

[2] The great Mace and Rest were given to the town in 1710 by Samuel Shepheard, jun., of Exning, one of the Members of Parliament for the Borough. The Mace is of silver gilt about 4 feet 5 inches long, and weighs nearly 156 ounces. The head is divided into four compartments containing (1) the rose and thistle, (2) the fleur-de-lis, (3) the harp,—each surmounted by a crown between the letters A R, (4) the arms of the borough; the cover of the head bears the Royal Arms. The Rest is of iron with a silver gilt escocheon which weighs about 25 ounces. The four smaller maces are all alike and are very similar to the great mace, but have the initials G R instead of A R, and the arms of Hanover are introduced into

There is, however, a small mace of copper-gilt which is very elegant (fig. 4). Although of the time of King Charles I., it is quite medieval in character. The bowl or head—originally the handle knob—is cup-shaped, but broad and low compared with the later maces. The handle has the three projecting plates with which the head was originally armed. The plate which covered the top of the bowl and displayed the Royal Arms has unfortunately been lost. The bowl bears the devices C, R, a rose, and an arched crown, and its rim is ornamented with a cresting of Maltese crosses and fleur-de-lis. This mace was probably one of those used by some of the inferior officers of the town as the symbol of their authority.

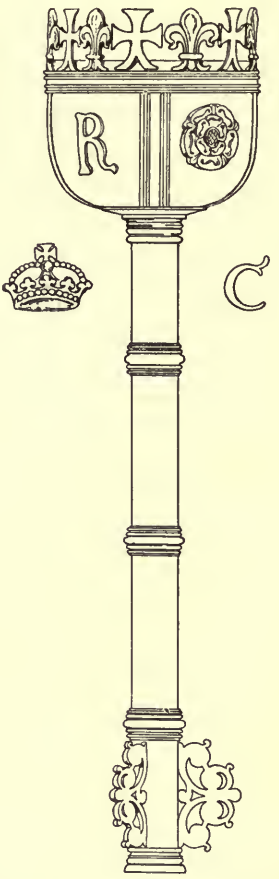

FIG. 4. SERGEANT'S MACE. Time of Charles I.

The earliest mention of the mayor's official seal occurs in the middle of the fourteenth century. At what date it was first used we do not know, but in 1349[1] it is affixed at the request of the Gild of Corpus Christi to a deed executed by the Gild, because it was better known than their own.[2] In the following century a new

the royal shield. They were given in 1724 by Thomas Bacon, Member of Parliament for the borough, and are engraved with his arms. All the maces and the Rest were made by Benjamin Pyne. (C. A. S., *Old Cambridge Plate.*)

[1] Yet in 1381, three persons representing the town in an enquiry made by Parliament, on "being asked if they had authority under the common seal of the town, replied in the negative, saying the town had no common seal." Cooper, *Annals*, I. 123.

[2] The seal is about the size of a penny piece, and is inscribed SIGILLUM MAJORATIS VILLE [CANTEBRIGIE].

seal (fig. 5, p. 33) of very beautiful design was made by order of the Four-and-Twenty.[1] It is somewhat similar to the earlier one in general design, but instead of the arms of England being repeated in two shields with a lion in base as supporter, there is one escocheon of France modern and England quarterly, supported by two angels kneeling. The inscription is S. COMUNITATIS VILLE CANTEBRIGE.[2] In 1471 a seal was in use which resembled that of 1349.[3] This seal was eventually superseded by one bearing the arms granted to the corporation in 1575 by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, on his visitation made in that year (fig. 3, p. 12). Like the arms granted by Cooke to other corporate bodies, it is inferior in design to the earlier coats. He also added, as he did in the case of Trinity Hall, the anachronism of a crest. This coat of arms continues in use at the present time. It is now affixed to documents by embossing the paper itself without the use of wax; the press by which it is applied is secured by three padlocks as directed in the ordinance of 1423. We give the terms of the grant below, omitting some wordy passages which are not very much to the purpose.[4]

TO ALL AND SINGULAR, as well nobles and gentils as others, to whom these presents come, Robert Cooke, Esquire, alias Clarencieux, Principal Herehaut and King of Arms, of the south east and west parts of this realm of England, from the river Trent southward, sendeth greeting in our Lord God Everlasting.....AND

The device consists of a bridge, embattled, of four arches, over a river; on the middle of the bridge a tower and spire, on either side of which is an escocheon bearing the lions of England, each escocheon supported by a lion in base, standing on the battlements of the bridge. (MS. Cole, XII. 127 b.)

[1] On the Thursday after the Nativity of the Virgin, 1423, it was resolved, "That there should be a common seal ordained, which should be kept in the treasury under the keys of the mayor and aldermen; and that all leases of houses, and all matters touching the commonalty, should be sealed therewith. And that the seal of the office of mayor should remain in the custody of the mayor for the term of his office." Cooper, *Annals*, I. 171.

[2] This seal is affixed to a document dated 29th Sept. 1434.

[3] The shields bear the arms of France and England quarterly, and are supported in base by two lions sejant. The inscription is SIGILLU · MAJORITATIS VILLAE CANT." (MS. Cole, XII. 127 b.)

[4] It is given at length in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, II. 330.

WHEREAS, the most noble Prince of famous memory, King Henry the First, son of William Conqueror, did, by his letters patent, incorporate the town and borough of Cambridge with sundry liberties, whereby they are to use about their necessary affairs, one common seal of arms, as all other corporations do; since which time they have not only used in the same seal the portraiture of a bridge, but also made shew thereof in colours, being no perfect arms,.....I HAVE ...not only set forth that their ancient common seal is a true and perfect arms, but also augmented and annexed unto the same arms, a crest and supporters, due and lawful to be borne, in manner and form following, that is to say, Gules a bridge, in chief, a flower de luce gold, between two roses silver, on a point wave, three boats sable: and to the crest, upon the healme on a wreath gold and gules, on a mount vert, a bridge silver. Mantled gules, doubled silver. The arms supported by two Neptune's horses, the upper part gules, the nether part proper, finned gold, as more plainly appeares depicted in the margin;.....IN WITNESS whereof, I, the said Clarencieux King of Arms, have set hereunto my hand and seal of office, the seventh day of June, Anno Domini, 1575, and in the seventeenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, &c.

ROB. COOKE, alias CLARENCIEUX,
Roy d'Armes.

Among the payments made by the Town Treasurers for the year ending Michaelmas 1575 occurs the following: "Item, to y^e^ Herault for grauntinge and settinge out y^e^ townes armes & patent thereof, v^li^."

We have now traced the rise of the Municipality from its dawn to the noon-tide of its history. We must reserve its later career for another chapter.

FIG. 5. SEAL OF 1423.

CHAPTER III

LIFE IN CAMBRIDGE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Local Government. Mayor and Four-and-Twenty. Duties of Mayor. Watch, punishments, sanctuary. Fire. Paving. Filthy streets. Plague, Black Death. Freedom. Tournaments and other games.

The Gilds. Gild of Thanes. Social Gilds. Anti-clerical character of some Cambridge Gilds. Candle rents. County Gilds. Gilds of Corpus Christi, S. Mary, and Holy Trinity, and some others. End of Gilds 1545. List of Cambridge Gilds.

Local Government.

WE have seen how civic authority gradually widened and how by successive charters the town acquired the right to manage its own affairs. We must now speak more particularly of the Mayor and Four-and-Twenty and of the way in which they used the power with which they were vested. We shall then attempt to give some account of that most interesting phase of medieval life, the combination of individuals into gilds for mutual help and protection both moral and physical,—a system initiated and brought to perfection by the people themselves. These matters will throw some light on the every-day-life of the common folk of the town.

To speak first of the Mayor and the Four-and-Twenty. The Mayor was obliged to dwell within the town, "in som convenient place there, mete for y^{e} mayer of that towne. So that the same may be openly knowne to all persons repayringe to y^{e} same towne there, to be the Mayers house, by the honest dressing & trimminge of the same, as well inwardlye as outwardlye."[1] The honest dressing outwardlye was, it is

[1] Ordinance, 1556. Cooper, *Annals*, II. 107.

presumed, ornamental posts, brightly painted, standing in the street in front of his house, by which the dwelling of a Mayor was usually distinguished. On the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, and Michaelmas, "and all the holliedays of the same," the Mayor wore his scarlet gown, the aldermen being in "murrey onelie." At Michaelmas the senior aldermen were equal with the Mayor in respect of "gownes," while each had "one servant at the leaste wayting on him to and from the chirche." And not only were the Mayor and aldermen obliged by ordinance to wear their robes, but they had to provide their wives with scarlet gowns also, or, in default, to pay a penalty of £10; it was even thought necessary to fine the wife £1,—or six times as much as the alderman himself had to pay for a like offence,—if she did not wear her gown on the appointed festivals. This was in the reign of Elizabeth.

The Mayor must have been a most hard worked member of the community and his duties by no means ended with his state functions or with spending the £10 a year allowed him for official hospitality. His routine work, besides presiding at the deliberations of the Town Council, included the appointment of guardians of orphans, the administration of wills, the admission of freemen, making the assay of bread, wine, and ale, (until this duty was transferred to the University authorities,) and presiding at the bench of Magistrates, and at the Court of Pie-Powder in Stourbridge Fair. Besides these ordinary duties, soldiers had frequently to be provided to serve against the Scots or the French, "of the more strong and valiant of the town, armed with aketons, habergeons, bacinets, and iron breast-plates," and these had also to be supplied with victuals and clothes. A small and somewhat miscellaneous collection of arms was kept in the Tolbooth ready for use. Boats "called keles and seggebotes" had also to be found and converted into barges for use at sea with the king's ships, or a ballinger had to be manned with from forty to fifty oars, for the defence of the realm. In 1522, the king

demanded twenty archers "in his service by yonde the See." John Thirleby, Town Clerk, was sent up to London to petition that only twelve be insisted upon,—"to gett relesse of viij" as he expresses it. The accounts of Edward Slegge and John Harryson, treasurers of the town, give some details of the muster.

Item, payed to two of the Kings pursuants comyng bothe upon oon day, wth lettres for xx Archers to the Kyng in his service by yonde the see, vj^{s} viij^{d}.

Item, payed for Bow stryngs atte first Muster, ij^{d}.

Item, payed to Thomas Brakyn and John Thirleby rydyng to London, & to Wynndsor to gett relesse of viij Archers parcel of xx charged for the Towne of Cambridgge, ther beyng xv dayes for the same, as apperith by a bill delyvered to Edward Slegge, iiij^{marcs}.[1]

The Mayor's administrative work appears to have been of a very personal character. We find him on one occasion going round the town with the Vice-Chancellor 'to cleanse the streets against the coming of the Cardinal'; at another time he is assaulted by a shearman whom he was arresting, and who was armed with his shears and with a dagger.

In early times the burgesses themselves kept watch in the streets by night, and the hours during which each man was to be on duty had to be carefully arranged beforehand. Afterwards this task was assigned to the Waits or official musicians, who were also aided by constables. It was the duty of certain burgesses selected from among the "more lawful" in each parish, to make enquiry about suspected persons who might be supposed to be lodging in their respective parishes. The waits were dressed in a uniform of "woollen cloth of bloody colour" with silver collars weighing five ounces or more.[2] How insufficient was the protection afforded by the watch, is shewn by the ordinance enacted in the middle of the fifteenth century, that

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 306.

[2] Town Treasurers' accounts, 1564: "Item for y^{e} waites collors, wayenge x ounces and iij quarters, at iiij^{s} viij^{d} the ounce, L^{s} ij^{d}. Item, for y^{e} makinge of y^{e} same ij collors, xiij^{s} viij^{d}."

No maner of man ne woman, hold his doer open after curfew belle be rongen, for drede of Aspyers stondying therein, waytyng men for to betyn, or to slen, or for' other peryl that myght falle thereof. AND that no maner of man, of what degree that he be, go armyd ne bere no wepen in destourbance of the Kynges pes, opon peyne of XX^{s} eche man that is founden in defaute for the same, to be payed to the Mayr and Baylles, and his body to go to prison.[1]

A bad substitute for the insufficiency of the watch was found in the severity and vile character of the punishments inflicted on evildoers. Trivial offences were punished by death, and the stocks, pillory, whipping post, and ducking stool were in constant use, while mere confinement in a medieval prison cannot but have been a terrible ordeal and must often have caused death. So late as 1665 a man convicted of robbery was condemned to be pressed to death, "which accordingly the same day was done between 5 and 7 in the afternoon. he was about an houre in dying. At his pressing he confest himself guilty of y^{e} robbery & of many other robberyes."[2] We have an instance of the practice of exposing the bodies of criminals who had been executed, in a grim record of 1441, when one of the quarters of a priest who had been executed at Tyburn was sent to Cambridge.[3] Vagabonds and loose women were whipped at the cart's tail from the Tolbooth to the Bridge and back. We have reference to this practice in the following extracts from the accounts of the Town Treasurers:

Item, for a visar bought at the comandement of Mr Maior & ye counsell, to serve for him that whipped vacabounds, ij^{s}.

Item, for viij yards of frise to make a cote for that purpose, vj^{s} viij^{d}.

Item, for makinge the same cote and poynts, xxj^{d}.[4]

And to the practice of branding a criminal in this:

Item, to Bracher for mending of boults, and making a burning iron, ij^{s}.[5]

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 196. (1445.)
[2] Ib. III. 516.
[3] Ib. I. 190.
[4] Ib. II. 311. (1572.)
[5] Ib. II. 518. (1592.)

There is an interesting illustration of the use of the pillory in a letter from Lord North to the Vice-Chancellor in 1569 respecting "evyll and fowle wordes," spoken to the Mayor by a student. In consideration of the offender being a member of the University, his lordship is "content that you shall qualyfe this punishment & that he shall but onely stand upon the Pillorye & have one of his eares nayled to the same by the space of three howrs, & that yow doe take order to see this done. And where yow alledge him to be dronke, yow are to consyder the tyme yn the mornyng, which was not lyke he could so longe remayne dronke.....And yf he had been eyther of the Sheer or towen he shoold have lost both hys eares." The borough accounts for the financial year 1569–70 contain the item "for ij peces of tymber for the pillorie when the man was nayled there iiij^{d}." and there is also a charge for "fetchinge the pillorie from stirbridge chappell." The stocks were no doubt fixed and permanent as being in constant demand, and it was moreover ordered that every parish should have a pair.

Another instrument of justice, the "Cuckyngstoole" or Ducking Chair, was situated at the Great Bridge. It is mentioned in the Hundred Rolls as one of the privileges of the town, and there are frequent charges for its repair. The chair hung by a pulley fastened to a beam about the middle of the bridge; the back panel was engraved and painted with a representation of devils laying hold of scolds. Such was its appearance in the first half of last century, when it was constantly hanging in its place. Any woman convicted of being a common scold was placed in the chair and let down three times into the water.

The right of Sanctuary added to the difficulties of the Watch. Each parish being responsible for any crime committed within its boundaries, it behoved every one to assist in taking the culprit. If a criminal had taken sanctuary it was necessary to watch the church night and day to see that he did not escape. Thus when Agnes Makerell "placed herself

in the church of the Friars Minors in Cambridge, and acknowledged herself to be a thief before many of the people, and having afterwards withdrawn from that church without making any abjuration;[1] it was adjudged by the justices itinerant, that the town should answer for her flight, and that she should be outlawed and waived."[2] At the same time it was impossible to touch the fugitive while she remained in the sacred precincts. The Mayor of Cambridge did, on one occasion, take a man who had fled to the cemetery of S. Peter's Church, but he, with the bailiffs and six others, were immediately threatened with excommunication by the Bishop of Ely, and only escaped by restoring the man and his goods to the church. The expense and trouble involved by this system must have been very heavy, especially in times of want, when crime would become more common.

The town authorities also made provision against fire. A large number of leather buckets were kept in various places, besides scoops and ladders. Four large iron hooks[3] were kept in the Churches of S. Mary, S. Botolph, S. Andrew, and S. Sepulchre. These hooks, of which one is still preserved in S. Benedict's churchyard (fig. 6), were fixed on to the ends of long poles and were also provided with two rings to which chains or ropes could be attached. The hook would then be lifted on to the roof of a burning house, or one that was threatened, and the thatch would be quickly torn off, or even the timber framing plucked down. Mr Atwell condemns these hooks, for they "so let the fire have the more air to burn the more violently." In his directions for 'quenching an house on fire' he says, "The Instruments for this purpose (not to speak of the water-squirt, which will throw a whole hogs-head

FIG. 6. FIRE-HOOK. About five feet long.

[1] If she had abjured the realm she would have been allowed to depart without hindrance (*Revue Historique*, vol. I.).

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 61. (1286.)

[3] They were called "cromes," at Norwich (Russell, 139).

of water to the top of an house at once; for that such are scarce to be had, save in some great Towns or Cities) are pikes, spits, mawkins, pike staves, forks, wet-blankets, ladders, buckets, scopets, pails, &c. and the materials, water, coal-dust, turf-ashes, wood-ashes, sand, horse-dung, dust, dirt, and in extremity even drest-grain itself."[1] He then goes on to explain how each of these may be used. Though writing in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the conditions in his days were the same as those of the Middle Ages. The very chimneys were frequently made of wood. "If the foot of a brick or stone-chimney be on fire, discharge a pistoll twice or thrice upon it; so soot and fire and all falls together."

The paving of the streets was a trouble from very early times, and tolls were frequently levied on certain goods brought into the town to pay for the same, or at other times each householder was obliged to pave the street opposite to his own house. To prevent "the marring of the pavement" it was ordered, that no iron shod wheels or "other evil engine" should be allowed, but only bare wheels.

The executive was not more successful in dealing with the removal of filth from the streets and yards. Refuse of all sorts was thrown out into the street and there allowed to accumulate in great heaps, or into the river and ditches. The picture of the condition of the streets given in the Act of 35 Hen. VIII. for paving the town is probably not too highly coloured. It is as follows:

Forasmoche as the auncient Boroughe and Towne of Cambrydge, wele inhabyted and replenysshed withe people bothe in the Universite where noble and many worshipfull mennys chyldren be put to lernyng & study, also wyth dyvers and sundry Artyficers & other inhabitaunts, ys at this day very sore decayed in pavyng, and the high stretes & lanes within the same Towne excedyngly noyed wyth fylth and myre lying there in great heapes and brode plasshes not onely noysom & comberouse to the inhapytaunts of the sayd Boroughe, and suche other the Kyngs subjects as dayly dothe passe by and through the same on fote, but allso very perillous & tedious

[1] Atwell, 1662. p. 95.

to all suche persones as shall on Horseback convey or cary any thing with carts by and throughe the same.....[1]

Matters must have been made far worse by the habit of housing cattle, swine, and horses in the town at nights and turning them out in the morning as the common herdman passed, to be driven by him to the town pastures.[2] The Parliament which was held here in 1388 passed an Act known formerly as the Statute of Cambridge providing for the keeping clean of towns. Perhaps it was suggested by the state of the town in which the Parliament sat.[3]

As each householder was obliged to pave the street opposite to his house, so also was he answerable for the lighting. On dark nights he had to hang out a lantern in front of his house. A crier was sent round the town on the nights when this was required. In the Town Treasurer's accounts we find the wages of the crier charged thus:

1615. Item, to a fellowe that Cried candell light for xij weeks, xij^{s}.

1616. Item, to him that crieth lanthorne and Candell light, xiij^{s}.[4]

As might be expected from this state of things, the town was frequently visited by the plague, and sickness must have been at all times rife. We can hardly realise, now-a-days, the havoc made by the Black Death. There is a grim contemporary record of the condition of one part of the town soon afterwards. The Ward beyond the Bridge, that is, all the town on the Castle side of the river, appears to have been almost entirely destroyed. Most of the people in the parish of All Saints' in Castro died and those that escaped left the neighbourhood for other parishes. The people of

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 409.

[2] In the Town Treasurer's accounts for 1564, we find the following: "Item, for a horne for y^{e} herdeman, xvj^{d}."

[3] *Statutes at Large*, ed. Danby Pickering, 1762, II. 298, and Ruffhead and Runington, 1769, I. In these as in earlier editions, "*Cantebr*'" is translated "Canterbury." Fuller noted this mistake in his *History*, 1655.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, III. 93, 103. Also Knight's *London*, I. 402. Similar charges occur annually from 1615 to 1672.

S. Giles' suffered as severely. The nave of All Saints' Church fell into ruins and the bones of the dead were exposed to the beasts.[1] The rest of the town was in the same plight. The mortality among the clergy we know. For instance the Master of the Hospital of S. John died towards the end of April and one Robert de Sprouston was appointed to succeed him. He died very soon after and Roger de Broom was instituted on 24th May, but he also died, and another took his place. On the day that Roger de Broom was made Master the parson of S. Sepulchre's died, and several others died soon after.[2] "For three years previous to 1349 the average number of institutions recorded in the episcopal registers was nine, and in 1348 it was only seven. In this year of the great sickness 97 appointments to livings in the diocese were made by the Bishop's Vicars, and in July alone there were 25."[3] Father Gasquet calculates that out of 140 beneficed clergy and 508 non-beneficed, including the various religious orders, "at least 350 of the clerical order must have perished in the diocese of Ely."[3] The records of the later visitations are the fullest, but their recurrence all through the Middle Ages is very frequent. In 1521–22 it is recorded that

> In thys yere, at the Assise kept at the castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices, and al the gentlemen, Bailiffes and other, resorting thether, toke such an infeccion, whether it were of the savor of the prisoners, or of the filthe of the house, that manye gentlemen, as Sir Jhon Cut, Sir Giles Alington, Knightes, and many other honest yomen thereof dyed, and all most all whiche were there present, were sore sicke and narrowly escaped with their lives.[4]

The elaborate ordinances drawn up in 1575 contain strict provisions for the seclusion of the afflicted and the destruction of their goods, and for keeping the town clean.

[1] Historical MSS. Commission, 6th Report, Appendix p. 299. In consequence of this devastation the parish of All Saints by the Castle was united with that of S. Giles.

[2] Gasquet, 134.

[3] Ibid. 133.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 305.

Also, that no manner of person inhabiting within any house visited hereafter with plague or pestilence, after notice and signification given by the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor, by these words in writing in great letters set upon the uppermost post of his street-door viz., "Lord have mercy upon us," shall go abroad out of that house, upon pain for the first default, 20^{s}, and for the second default herein 40^{s}, and for the third default, perpetual banishment out of the town....[1]

The duties and privileges of citizenship were enjoyed by the limited class then known as burgesses and whom we should call freemen. Though in the Middle Ages this class was not the narrow clique forming only a small proportion of the populace which it became in later times, the privilege of freedom was confined to the well-to-do classes, and was practically out of the reach of their inferiors. Freedom was attainable by birth, by apprenticeship and by purchase. The eldest son could have his freedom during his father's life on paying a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* At the death of the father the eldest son paid a fee of fixed amount, the other sons making the best bargain they might with the Four-and-Twenty. The son or apprentice of the burgess of another town could not have his freedom on the same terms as the son or apprentice of a freeman, but was obliged to make what terms he could with two burgesses whom the Mayor and commonalty should depute.[2] These two burgesses were called Godfathers. In the reign of Elizabeth every burgess was obliged to obtain for his apprentice the freedom of the town, at his own cost. During the Commonwealth the old name godfather was objected to and was abolished by the following order:

Whereas heretofore in all eleccions of foraigne freemen, Two of the four and twenty have been nominated Godfathers to sett the fines for such fredomes; It is agreed & ordered that henceforward they shall in no wise be called Godfathers but Assessors of the Fine.[3]

The Mayor appears to have had the right of admitting

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II. 335.
[2] Ordinance of 1462; Ib. I. 213.
[3] Order of 24th August 1649. Ib. III. 429.

one man to the freedom of the town. Oliver Cromwell is said to have obtained the freedom in this way, and thus to have qualified to serve as burgess in Parliament.[1] The practice of making non-resident freemen was common in the Middle Ages, for merchants living in other towns were often willing to obtain trading rights and so forth by purchasing partial freedom. The election of freemen simply to support a particular parliamentary interest—only freemen having votes—appears to have begun in 1679, when twenty-two admissions were made. This would be a large addition to the then small number of freemen. A century later the abuse had grown, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

The town reaped an important benefit from the presence of the University in the prohibition of all tournaments, war-like games, bull-baitings, and bear-baitings within or near the town, though it may be doubted if the advantage was generally appreciated by the people. Fuller's lively picture of the scenes witnessed on these occasions is probably a true one, but he can hardly be right in saying that tournaments were commonly kept here. King Henry III. constantly sent down to stop them when they were announced, and finally forbade them altogether within five miles of Cambridge.[2] Edward I. did the like[3] and his wise action was probably followed by his successors.

"Tournaments and tilting of the nobility and gentry were," says Fuller, "commonly kept at Cambridge, to the great annoyance of Scholars. Many sad casualties were caused by these meetings, though ordered with the best caution. Arms and legs were often broken as well as spears. Much lewd people waited on these assemblies, light housewives as well as light horsemen repaired thereunto. Yea, such the clashing of swords, the rattling of arms, the sounding of trumpets, the neighing of horses, the shouting of men all day-time, with the roaring of riotous revellers all night, that

[1] See Chapter vi.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 53.

[3] Ibid. I. 71.

the Scholars' studies were disturbed, safety endangered, lodging straightened, charges enlarged, all provisions being unconscionably enhanced. In a word, so many war horses were brought thither, that Pegasus himself was likely to be shut out; for where Mars keeps his term, there the Muses may even make their vacation."[1]

In the second year of his reign, James I. forbade unprofitable or idle games in Cambridge or within five miles thereof "whereby the younger sort are or may be drawn or provoked to vain expence loss of time or corruption of manners."[2] Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, common plays, public shows, interludes, comedies and tragedies in the English tongue and games at loggets and nine holes were specially forbidden. The town made a bull-ring in the year in which this order was issued, as the following charges shew: "Item, for making a bulringe, iij^{s} xj^{d}. Item, for 63^{li} of lead & a stone to fasten yt in, ix^{s} vj^{d}. Item, for a bushell of stones to pave about yt, 4^{d}. Item, for pavinge yt, x^{d}."[3] It is possible that the making of this bull-ring induced the University authorities to petition the king, and that the order was a consequence of their action.

That games were so frequently forbidden shews at least that they were constantly revived. So late as 1749 a "Great Muscovy Bear" was baited at the Wrestlers' Inn; "The whole Entertainment," it was announced, "will conclude with a Scene worthy Observations of the curious."[4]

The Gilds.

We must now turn our attention to those important organizations, the Gilds, of one class of which we have, fortunately, unusually full records. In many towns the control of some trades was, during the fourteenth century, delegated

[1] Fuller, 25.

[2] Letter from James I. 23 July 1604. Cooper, *Annals*, III. 6.

[3] Town Treasurer's accounts, 1604. Cooper, *Annals*, III. 11.

[4] *Camb. Antiq. Soc.* VIII. 353.

by the town authorities to chosen representatives of the tradesmen. For this purpose gilds were formed, or authority was given to existing gilds. But at Cambridge this authority appears to have been retained in the hands of the Four-and-Twenty or of the Gild Merchant. We find no mention of a Craft Gild with supervision over the craft, or even of one of those Social Gilds such as existed at Norwich for instance, consisting exclusively of members of one trade though without authority in that trade.

Of the other class of gild, the Religious or Social Gild,[1] partaking of the character of a Benefit Club or Friendly Society, Cambridge affords examples both numerous[2] and interesting. We have already given some account of the Gild of Thanes which existed at Cambridge before the Conquest. How long this continued we do not know, but there is no evidence for connecting it with any one of the later gilds of which we are now speaking. The records of these gilds are numerous. The most valuable of them are contained in a large collection of Returns made in 1389 to the King in Council by gilds of both sorts in all parts of the kingdom, giving full information about all their concerns.[3]

[1] In the Middle Ages the gilds now usually known as 'Religious Gilds,' and which Mr Toulmin Smith (*English Gilds*) preferred to call 'Social Gilds,' that is, non-craft gilds, were called simply 'gilds or brotherhoods.' Individual gilds were distinguished by the names of their patron saints, such as the 'Gild of S. Katherine.' The craft-gilds are spoken of as 'Mysteries and Crafts' without the use of the word gild; but each called itself by such a title as 'Gild of Carpenters.'

[2] A list of all the Cambridge gilds of which we have found any record is given at the end of this chapter.

[3] The gilds were to make returns as to the manner and form and authority of the foundation of the gilds; the manner and form of the oaths, gatherings, feasts, and general meetings of the brethren and sisteren; as to the privileges, statutes and customs; and as to their lands, tenements, rents and possessions, and goods and chattels.

A selection from these Returns forms the foundation of Mr Toulmin Smith's invaluable work *English Gilds*, published by the Early English Text Society. We have to acknowledge our great indebtedness to this work. Since it was published the documents, now preserved in the Public Record Office, have been flattened and repaired, and an index has been made.

These Returns have a somewhat special interest to Cambridge people in particular. They were made in obedience to a Writ issued by a Parliament held at Cambridge in 1388. That Parliament, which was as remarkable for the amount of work it got through as for the shortness of the time for which it sat, we have already noticed; it passed the Statute of Cambridge for the cleansing of towns. Of the Returns made in the following year many are now lost, but those that have been preserved give the most valuable information on the subject of gilds which we possess.

The religious gilds connected with the churches of Cambridge are particularly interesting on account of a certain well-marked characteristic common to several of them, namely, the strong anti-clerical feeling shewn by their ordinances. In one case parsons are excluded altogether, in others they are allowed no voice in the management. But it is probable that this tone is due, in part at least, to the presence of the University, and that the ordinances in question are directed against clerks as members of the University rather than as parsons. Even during the occasional truces between the University and the burgesses, it might be very necessary to guard against the possibility of the control of a gild falling into the hands of the clerks. It must be remembered that the fourteenth century, during which most of these ordinances were drawn up, was the period of the greatest hostility between the town and the University. On the other hand, two Cambridge gilds shewed a very opposite spirit by uniting for the purpose of founding a college, while in the county two others, at least, made it an important object to assist in the repair of the parish church. The anti-clerical tone of the ordinances is by no means to be taken as indicating a want of religious feeling, and the exclusion of the clergy was probably the exception rather than the rule. Generally all classes were admitted, and so also were women, or at least those whose husbands belonged to the gild.

The fraternities always bore a religious dedication and attached themselves to a particular church, where they celebrated the feast of their patron saint and kept candles burning before an altar, and where they said masses for the living and dead. The mutual help of the members both living and dead was their chief object, but in two or three of the Cambridge gilds, material aid to the living is admitted to be the first consideration. The fraternity made grants in money to members who were in poverty or sickness, they attended the funeral of a departed brother or sister and offered up prayers for the soul. The Alderman of the gild also acted as arbitrator in cases of dispute, and members were not allowed to go to law with one another till they had first appealed to him. The gild derived its funds from the regular payments of the members and from bequests. Payments were made in money or kind, very frequently in wax for the lights in the church,—the lights forming a heavy item in the expenditure. It was common for a member to leave to the gild, on his death, small sums for the maintenance of the lights, to be paid annually out of the rents of house-property. These charges were called "Candle-rents," and they appear to have led to serious trouble in later times. Their payment seems to have been very much begrudged, and in the riot of 1381 the people made them one of their grievances, and a special cause of ill will to Corpus Christi College, which possessed many of them, derived, no doubt from the gild of Corpus Christi.

The members of each gild met together several times a year to elect officers, to discuss the affairs of the gild and to dine. These meetings were held in the house of one of the brothers, at an inn or some such place, or in a house set apart for the purpose. The Gild of S. Catharine in the Priory church of Barnwell had on lease of the Prior and Convent of that place a house in Barnwell Street called S. Katharine's House. This consisted of a hall, two chambers at the upper end of the hall with a garret over them, and at the lower end

F. Mackenzie. J. Le Keux.

THE MARKET PLACE,

SHEWING THE TOWN HALL & HOBSON'S CONDUIT.

1842.

a kitchen and a rye chamber. Another gild had, at least when its statutes were drawn up, no fixed abode; they were to "come togedyr, unto a certeyn place assygned." But to the same gild,—that of S. Peter and S. Paul,—one of its members, Mistress Annes Smyth, left "1 Tabyl Cloth off Dyaper iij yerds and iij Quartris," and other household goods, so it is probable that they had at that time a common hall.

Thirty-three such gilds are known to have existed in Cambridge. How many of these flourished at any one time we cannot say, nor how many more there may have been of which all record is now lost. For the whole county the Returns of thirty-three other gilds are preserved. This is probably but a small proportion of those that actually existed at one time and another, for the Returns of only eight of the thirty-three Cambridge gilds are extant. Of the county gilds, three were in Chesterton, seven in Ely, and six in Wisbech; the rest were scattered among the villages.

Having said thus much on the gilds in general we shall present the clearest idea of their objects and influence by giving a few particulars of some individual instances.

The Gild of Corpus Christi in S. Benedict's Church appears to have been the most important, as its name is certainly the most famous, of the Cambridge gilds. It was perhaps founded, like that which bore the same dedication at York, for the purpose of conducting the procession on the feast of Corpus Christi.[1] But the gild shewed a truer appreciation of the needs of the age by founding the college which bears its name. For this purpose it united with another gild, that of S. Mary in the Church of S. Mary-by-the-Market. The college which they founded was called after both gilds, its full name being the College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary. The brethren wisely chose as their alderman, Henry Duke of Lancaster, cousin of King Edward III., and so secured the court influence which was necessary for the

[1] The Thursday after Trinity Sunday. The festival was instituted by Pope Urban IV. about 1264. (Josselin, *Hist. Coll. Corp. Chri.*, 14.)

speedy execution of their object. They obtained the charter for their college from the King in 1352, and immediately set about the work of establishing it and providing it with buildings. These they erected on a site immediately to the south of S. Benedict's Church, the presentation to which they soon afterwards obtained and conferred upon the college. The history of the college we shall give in a later chapter. The great Corpus Christi procession, one of the most important religious functions in the year, and one in which the whole population joined, was henceforth conducted by both the college and the gild. The alderman of the gild for the year led the way, followed by the seniors carrying silver shields, enamelled, bearing coats of arms and the symbols of the Passion. Then came the Master of the college, a canopy held over him, carrying the Host contained in a tabernacle of silver-gilt.[1] He was followed by the Vice-Chancellor, the Fellows and Scholars of the college and members of the University, by the Mayor and Town Council, and lastly by all the burgesses and common people. Torches were carried by those who took part in the ceremony, and the representation of Biblical scenes, either spoken or in dumb show, probably formed part of the procession, as they did in two gilds at York. We find that in 1350 William de Lenne (Lynn) and Isabel his wife, on their admission to the gild, presented half a mark towards the play of the Children of Israel.[2] "Thus," says Fuller, "from Benet Church, they advanced to the great bridge, through all the parts of the town, and so returned with a good appetite to the place where they began. Then in Corpus Christi College was a dinner provided them, where good stomachs meeting with

[1] Inventory made probably in the 15th century, preserved in Corp. Chris. Coll. Camb. and quoted by Mr Riley in his Report (*Historical MSS. Commission. First Report*). The value is there stated to be "20 pounds of lawful money,' equal to several hundred pounds of our money. Josselin, writing in about 1570, says that the Host was carried in a pix of silver gilt weighing 78½ ounces, given by Sir John de Cambridge, Alderman of the gild in 1344.

[2] Accounts of the gild, preserved in Corpus Christi College.

good cheer and welcome, no wonder if mirth followed of course." The great horn which was passed round at these feasts is still preserved in the college.[1] The ceremony was abolished by the Commissioners of Edward VI. in 1549, revived under Queen Mary, and finally abolished by Queen Elizabeth,—not, however, without vigorous remonstrances by the townspeople who had come to regard the dinner as their right. On the last occasion on which the procession was made, as the Host was being borne past the Falcon Inn in the Petty Cury, the canopy which was held over it caught fire, "either," says Fuller, "by the carelessness of the torch bearers, or maliciously, by some covertly casting fire thereon out of some window, or miraculously, to shew that God would shortly consume such superstition." Some very interesting records of the gild are extant, including lists of admissions giving a great number of names, and some accounts. The latter seem to shew that the gild traded and made a profit by selling boars, pigs, steers, sheep, malt, bran, grains, and herbs from their garden.[2]

The Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of S. Mary-by-the-Market, with which the Gild of Corpus Christi had joined, was in existence in 1282. It admitted both men and women and did not exclude the clergy. All sorts of people are entered on its Bede Roll and a great variety of trades are mentioned.[3]

Another of the more important of the Cambridge gilds appears to have been that of the Holy Trinity in the Church of Holy Trinity, founded in 1377.[4] The ordinances are

[1] Presented, probably about 1347, by John Goldecorne, Alderman of the gild. It is figured in *Old Cambridge Plate* (C. A. S.).

[2] *Royal Commission on Hist. MSS. First Report.*

[3] Among other trades and names we find the following: le chapman, le harpour, le chesemonger, le spicer, le scheyer, le coteler, le flaxmonger, le reder [reeder or thatcher], le hatter, le taylour, John Godsone, perhaps a son or grandson of Benedict Godson, Burgess in Parliament for the town in 1295, le tabletter, le mazoun, the Parsons of S. Benedict's and S. Sepulchre, le cupper, le irnemonger, le sergant.

[4] It is endorsed "*Gilda Cantebr'*." From the fact of its being called the Gild of Cambridge, Mr Toulmin Smith supposes it to have been the most important.

interesting as being different in several respects from those of other gilds. They very strictly forbid the affairs of the gild being placed in the hands of parsons,—"For it is neither becoming nor lawful that a parson should in any way mix himself up with secular business; nor does it befit the good name or come within the calling of such men, that they should take on themselves offices and things of this sort."[1] Ecclesiastics were allowed to join the gild as ordinary members but were disqualified from office. The gild also agreed to appoint a chaplain "if the means of the gild enable it." Under the same condition there was to be a candle-bearer enriched with a carving of the Holy Trinity, on the top of which three candles were to be kept burning on Sundays and Feast-days. On the eve of the feast of Holy Trinity, the Alderman, the two stewards, the Dean, and the brethren were to meet at some place agreed upon, and thence march two and two, in their livery (if they had any) to the Church of Holy Trinity to hear evensong. They in like manner had to attend services on the Feast-day and to present offerings. Any one who did not attend was to pay two pounds of wax.

It is impossible here to give even an abstract of the very full and interesting laws which the brethren of this gild drew up, and for which they obtained the approval of the Bishop. The first ordinance,—*De Officiariis*,—will give some idea of the objects and organization of the gild and the way in which its affairs were managed.

There shall be one head of the Gild, who shall be styled 'Alderman.' There shall also be two Stewards, who shall gather in and deal with the goods and chattels of the Gild, and shall trade with the same; and they shall give an account thereof, and of all gains thence arising, to the Alderman and bretheren, and deliver them up

[1] "Item statuimus et ordinamus quod si contingat aliquem virum ecclesiasticum, presertim in sacris ordinibus constitutum, ad dictam fraternitatem assumi, quod non preficiatur in aliquam officiarium dicte Gilde, nec aliqua bona habeat ministranda;...cum non deceat, nec liceat, clericus negociis secularibus se aliquatenus immisceri...." (Toulmin Smith, 265.)

as is hereinafter said. They shall take an oath of office, and moreover find two sureties. There shall also be a Dean of the Gild, who shall enter the names of new-comers; give warning to the bretheren of all the times when they must meet, and make record of the warning; write down moneys received and fines that are due, and levy the latter; give out to needy bretheren their allowances, as is below said; carefully see that all is rightly done on the burial of a brother or his wife; and range the bretheren in becoming manner when they meet.[1]

There were five meetings in the year: at four of these the ordinary affairs of the gild were considered, and each member paid sixpence to the common stock. At the fifth meeting, held soon after Trinity Sunday, accounts were audited and officers elected. The election was not made by the whole body, but by seven members selected by the retiring Alderman. At the death of a brother or of his wife 'all becoming services' were done, and the officers of the gild were expected to be present. Any brother, or brother's wife who was in need without fault of their own, received sevenpence a week[2] and a gown and hood once a year, and was free of all contributions to the gild. These allowances were continued to the widow of a departed brother so long as she did not marry again. New members were elected by the whole body of brethren; they paid an entrance-fee of thirteen and fourpence, and also sixpence to the Alderman and threepence to the Dean. Respect was to be paid to the Alderman, his ruling at meetings was to be obeyed, and there was to be no angry or idle talk. If the Alderman was aware of a quarrel between two brethren he was to try to bring them to peace. The Alderman had power to punish a disobedient brother or one who did anything hurtful to the good name of the gild. If the brother refused to submit he might be turned out of the gild, or, on the presentment of the Alderman and two brethren, he might be dealt with by the Bishop as a perjurer and faith-breaker.

[1] Toulmin Smith, 263.

[2] Considering the change in the value of money, this is quite a liberal allowance.

The Bishop not only approved these laws, but granted an Indulgence of forty days to all who should join or help the gild.

The other gilds founded in Cambridge in the fourteenth century have ordinances equally interesting and original. The Gild of the Annunciation was begun in order that "kindliness should be cherished more and more, and discord be driven out." The wives of brethren were admitted to the rights of membership, but all other women were excluded, and also all parsons and bakers. The Gild of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of S. Mary next the market (*juxta fforum*) admits parsons and will keep a chaplain, "but it is to be clearly understood that, if the funds of the Gild fall below ten marks, the finding of a chaplain shall stop; and the goods of the Gild shall be then bestowed in the maintenance of a light and of the poor brethren. When the Gild gets richer, a chaplain shall be refound."[1] The Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of S. Botolph allowed a poor brother 7*d.* a week, or, if there were two brethren in need, 4*d.* each.

"The fulness and originality of the ordinances of the many gilds in Cambridge, up till the end of the fourteenth century," has been pointed out by Mr Toulmin Smith, who thus proceeds, "Not less striking is the entire change in this respect which took place in the fifteenth century. Nowhere else in all England have I yet found one gild after another copying the ordinances of an older gild. In the fifteenth century this happened in Cambridge; and with such seemingly blind helplessness, that ordinances, professing to be those of distinct gilds, and which had more than forty years' difference between them in the dates of their foundation, are more identical in shape and words, so far as these could be used in separate bodies, than are the different versions of what are avowedly copies of the same Bye-laws of Tettenhall-Regis."[2] The ordinances are, nevertheless, not without interest, and we

[1] Toulmin Smith, 271. [2] Ib., 272.

may, therefore, give the purport of the most important of them.[1] All the brethren and sisters met on the Sunday next after Low Sunday in their best clothes, to attend mass. There were also two other meetings in the year, called "morowe spechis" for general business, at which each paid for his pension twopence. Any one not present had to pay a pound of wax, or if coming "aftir prime be smette, he schal payne *ij denar.* And y^e^ oure prime is clepȳd the secounde oure aftyr noone, alsowel in somertyme as in wynter." The election of officers was in this manner. "First, y^e^ Aldirman schal clepene vpe ij. men be name. And the compenye schalle clepen vpe othir ij. men. And these iiij. men schul chesen to hem othir ij. men. And thanne these vj. men schul ben chargid, be the othe yat yei haue made to the Gylde beforne tyme yat yei schul gon and chesen an Aldirman, ij. Maystirs, a clerk, and a Deen, which hem thynkith, be heyr gud conscience that ben most able for to gouerne y^e^ companye in y^e^ yere folowyng." On the days of meeting the Alderman was allowed "to his drynk and for his geestys, *j Galone* of ale, and every Maystir *a potell*, and the clerk *a potell*, and y^e^ deen *a quart* of ale." The clerk and the dean were each paid 20*d.* a year. The fifth statute ordains an entrance fee of 40*d.* and is followed by a devout prayer that the payment may be made promptly "to the more avayle and furtheraunce of the gylde and to his more meede, be the grace of our lorde gode. Amen." Thirty masses were to be sung for the soul of a departed brother within ten days of his death, and all the gild were "to come to the place wer the deede body is, for to gon therwith to y^e^ chirche honestly and with the lyghtys of this company, and for to offren for y^e^ sowl, at the messe don therfore, a farthyng." The vicar of the church was to be paid 4*s.* 4*d.* for praying for the members both living and dead.

[1] The following abstract is from the ordinances of the Gild of SS. Peter and Paul in the Church of S. Peter by the Castle, but those of the Gilds of S. Clement in the Church of S. Clement and of All Saints in the Church of All Saints [? in Jewry] are almost identical.

"If any brothir or sustir of this forseyd companye fall in-to olde age or in-to grete pouerte, nor haue wherwith to be foundene nor to help hymselfe, he schal haue, euery woke, *iiij. denar.* of the goodys of the gylde, also-long as the catell therof is worth *xl.s.* or more." If there was more than one poor man, then the 4*d.* was to be divided among them. The ninth statute is worth quoting at length: "Also if any man be at heuynesse with any of his bretheryne for any maner of trespas, he schal not pursewen him in no maner of courte: but he schal come firste to the Alderman, and schewen to hym his greuance. And than the Alderman schal sende aftyr that odyr man, and knowen his offence. And than he schal make eyther of hem for to chesen a brothir of the forsayde companye, or ellys ij. bretheren, for to acorde hem and sett hem at rest and pees. And if these men so chosen, with the good mediacion of the Alderman, mowe not brynge hem at acorde and at reste, thane may the Alderman geuen hem licence for to gone to the comown law yf thei wyll. And who-so goth to the common lawe for any playnt or trespas, vn-to the tyme he hath ben at the Alderman and don as it is sayde befor, he schal payen to the encres of the gylde *xl.d.*, withoute any grace." No member was to linger at a "comown drynkyng" after the Alderman had left. "And what brothir or sustyr, bot yf he be any offycer, entryth into y^{e} chambyr ther the Ale is in, withoute Lycence of the offycers that occupye therin, he schall payne I: Lib: wax." Anyone who bewrayed the affairs of the gild "so that the compeny be slaunderyd or hynderyd, or have any other vyllany thereby" was fined 40*d.* The fines were paid either in money or in wax,—generally a pound,—"to y^{e} amendment of y^{e} lightes."

This slight sketch must here serve for the more lively picture which might be drawn of the gilds of Cambridge. They were to come to a sudden and disastrous end with so much else in the sixteenth century. The gilds were a prey too easy to escape the all-devouring Henry VIII. They were included in the Act for the suppression of the Colleges and

Chantries in 1545, and those that then escaped fell in the first year of Edward VI.

Of such measures it is difficult to speak with calmness. The system of gilds, so vigorous and healthy, so "helpyng ageins ye rebelle and vnboxhum" had been invented and developed by the native genius of the people for organization and self-help, and by their love of self-government. It had produced in every locality and almost in every brotherhood some distinguishing characteristics, some special features which separate that particular place and fraternity from others, and this is very clear in the case of the Cambridge gilds. But apart from the local feeling which comes out almost as distinctly as the local colouring, there is a wider and deeper interest arising from the spirit displayed by the whole system, a system which was to revive again after an interval of 250 years. The same spirit runs through both the old development and the new. But the old gilds bring out more plainly one side of the national character, namely, a brotherly kindliness and a strong religious feeling, not unmixed with worldly wisdom and prudence. The spirit that animated the gild brethren is the same that inspired the final order which Hawkins issued to the captains of his fleet for keeping in communication: SERVE GOD DAILY, LOVE ONE ANOTHER, PRESERVE YOUR VICTUALS, BEWARE OF FIRE, AND KEEP GOOD COMPANY.

List of Cambridge Gilds.

The following list gives all the Cambridge gilds of which we have found any record, arranged under the churches to which they attached themselves. The sources whence names have been obtained are: The Index of the Returns preserved in the Record Office; Mr Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*; information kindly given by his daughter and editor, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith; the MS. collections of Baker in the Cambridge University Library and those of Bowtell in Downing

College; Mr C. H. Cooper's *Memorials* and *Annals;* and Mr S. Sandar's *Great S. Mary's Church*, published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

The Gild of Thanes of Cambridge; Early Eleventh Century (see Chapter I.).

In the Church of All Saints [*? in the Jewry*]: Gild of All Saints; ordinances 1473 and 1503; similar to those of the Gild of SS. Peter and Paul; a brother in poverty allowed 4*d.* a week; women admitted.

In the Church of S. Andrew the Great: Gild of S. Katharine; existing in 1389 and in 1500; women admitted.

In the Church of S. Andrew the Less (*Barnwell Priory*): Gild of S. Catharine; existing in 1473 when they took on lease a house for gild-meetings. Gild of S. Mary. Gild of S. Nicholas.

In the Church of S. Benedict: Gild of S. Augustine; existing in 1504 and in 1526. Gild of Corpus Christi; probably begun about 1350; founded Corpus Christi College 1352; women admitted; existing in 1374. Gild of S. Katharine; existing in 1389.

In the Church of S. Botolph: Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary; existing in 1389; a brother in poverty allowed 7*d.* a week.

In the Church of S. Clement: Gild of S. Clement; ordinances made 1431; similar to those of Gild of SS. Peter and Paul; existing in 1483; a brother in poverty allowed 4*d.* a week; women admitted. Gild of Jesus.

In the Church of S. Edward: Gild of S. Edward. Gild of S. Thomas the Martyr.

In the Church of S. Giles: Gild of S. Giles.

In the Church of S. Mary the Great: Gild of S. Andrew; existing in 1459. Gild of the Annunciation; begun 1379; existing in 1389; wives of brethren admitted; no parsons or bakers. Gild of S. Catharine. Gild of SS. Christopher and James. Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary; existing about 1284 and in 1408; united with Gild of Corpus Christi to found College of Corpus Christi; ordinances approved by Consistory, 1385. Fraternity of S. Mary. (It is often impossible to distinguish these two gilds if indeed they were distinct.) Gild of S. Peter Milleyne; existing in 1503 and in 1526. Gild of S. Thomas; existing in 1503 and in 1526. Gild of Holy Trinity; existing in 1389. Gild of S. Ursula; existing in 1503 and in 1526.

In the Church of S. Mary the Less: Gild of S. Mary.

In the Church of S. Peter by the Castle: Gild of SS. Peter and

Paul; ordinances 1448; similar to those of the gilds of All Saints and S. Clement; a brother in poverty allowed 4*d.* a week; women admitted.

In the Church of Holy Sepulchre: Gild of S. Etheldreda.

In the Church of Holy Trinity: Gild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; existing in 1389. Gild of S. Catharine; existing in 1504. Gild of S. Clement. Gild of S. George; existing in 1504. Gild of Holy Trinity; ordinances, 1377; existing 1389; a brother or brother's widow in poverty allowed 7*d.* a week; no parson to hold office. Gild of S. Ursula and Eleven Thousand Virgins; existing in 1504.

CHAPTER IV

TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

Cambridge never fortified; its military position; consequent topographical characteristics. The Castle, 1068. The King's Ditch, 1215; its bridges. Bridges over the river: the sheriff and the hermit. Hithes. Streets. Market Place. Cross. Conduit. Pillory, Stocks, and Ducking-stool. Lesser markets and trade quarters; street names. Inns, taverns, coffee houses. Street architecture. School of Pythagoras. Commons.

CAMBRIDGE has never been a fortified town. It probably served as little more than a base of operations in early times, as it certainly did at a later period; a purpose for which it was well fitted by its situation. As such it has been used by successive commanders: by the Conqueror against the unconquered fen-men; by Henry III. in his fruitless attempts to reduce his enemies; by Northumberland in his plot for placing Lady Jane Grey on the Throne; and by Cromwell as a rendezvous for the Eastern Counties army. But it seems never to have been worth a serious attack or defence, except as an outpost. These facts it is necessary to bear in mind, for they explain much of the general topographical character of the town. The place was never packed closely within walls in the usual medieval fashion. Its parishes stretched across the river and along the roads which led out of the town, their bounds being evidently determined by the convenience of including the houses which fringed the road and not by circumscribing fortifications.

A castle was indeed built by the Conqueror on the site of

the earlier fortifications, and King John made a ditch round the town. But the Castle is absolutely without history, and at least as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century it was, like some other royal castles, used as a prison for common criminals.[1]

The ditch made by King John in 1215 was strengthened by King Henry III., who intended to build a wall in addition. The King's Ditch as it was always called can never have been any defence to the town, except perhaps against casual marauders, though it was for centuries a cause of annoyance and sickness to the inhabitants by serving as a harbour of filth. Branching out from the river at the King's and Bishop's mills, it followed Mill Lane and Pembroke Street (map, end of vol.), crossed the area now occupied by the Science Schools, ran down S. Tibb's Row, passed between the present Post Office and S. Andrew's Church, down Hobson Street, across the ground afterwards given to the Franciscan Friars, and now the site of Sidney Sussex College, down Garlic Fair Lane, now Park Street, and thence to the river which it re-joined just above the Common now called Jesus Green at a point nearly opposite to the gable of the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College. A small part of the town on the further side of the bridge appears to have been similarly enclosed.[2] The ditch was crossed by bridges on the lines of the principal roads. One of these, built of stone, still remains under the road now called Jesus Lane but formerly Nuns' Lane. There appears to have been a drawbridge at the end of Sussex Street[3] and an iron gate on the bridge beyond the Great Bridge.[4]

[1] From the time of Edward III. onwards it was used as a quarry by the royal founders of more than one college. In 1634 only the gatehouse remained.

[2] The passage of the river was also protected by a chain drawn across it at the Great Bridge. Cooper, *Annals* II. 82.

[3] Lease of 22 Hen. VI. in the Muniment Room of Jesus College (E. 15 a).

[4] Lyne's Map, 1574. This map shews the ditch beyond the river already out of use and that on the east side crossed by numerous small bridges. The town receives rent for one of these in 1494.

The river was spanned by two bridges in the middle ages, namely, the Great Bridge at the Castle end and the Small Bridges at Newnham. The bridges were in the hands of the king. His sheriff had to maintain the Great Bridge out of charges upon certain lands in the county. In the time of Edward I. the burgesses complained that the bridge was ruinous and impassable. The moneys levied by the sheriff for its repair he had kept for his private use; he had provided a barge to ferry the people across the river, the tolls of which barge went into his own pocket; while the keeper of the sheriff's prison took away by night the planks provided for the repairs of the bridge, in order to delay the work and so augment the sheriff's profits.[1]

The road to Newnham and Barton crossed two branches of the river, hence there were two small bridges. Their repair and the mending of the road to Barton was committed to a hermit who lived hard by; for these services he was allowed to take toll on certain articles brought into the town for sale.[2] A chapel stood on or near the bridge at the end of the fourteenth century.

Between the two bridges were situated the principal hithes: Corn Hithe, Flax Hithe, Garlic Hithe, Salt Hithe, Dame Nichol's Hithe. The common hithe immediately below the Great Bridge still continues in use. Numerous narrow lanes led down from the High Street to the quays.

The town was intersected by three main streets. From the Great Bridge ran Bridge Street,—called further on in its course Conduit Street but now Sidney Street,—to the Barnwell Gate opposite to the Post Office where it crossed

[1] Hundred Rolls (1278). In 1494 the Town Treasurers receive rent for a house built upon the bridge. The bridge was of timber till 1754, when it was rebuilt in stone by Essex. The present iron structure by Arthur Brown dates from 1823 (*Ancient Cambridgeshire*, C.A.S. Cooper, *Annals*).

Garret Hostel Bridge was rebuilt of iron in 1837.

[2] John Jaye was the hermit in 1399. One Thomas Kendall had succeeded him in 1406 (Cooper, *Annals*). This bridge was of timber till 1841 (see plate), when the present iron bridge superseded it (*Annals*).

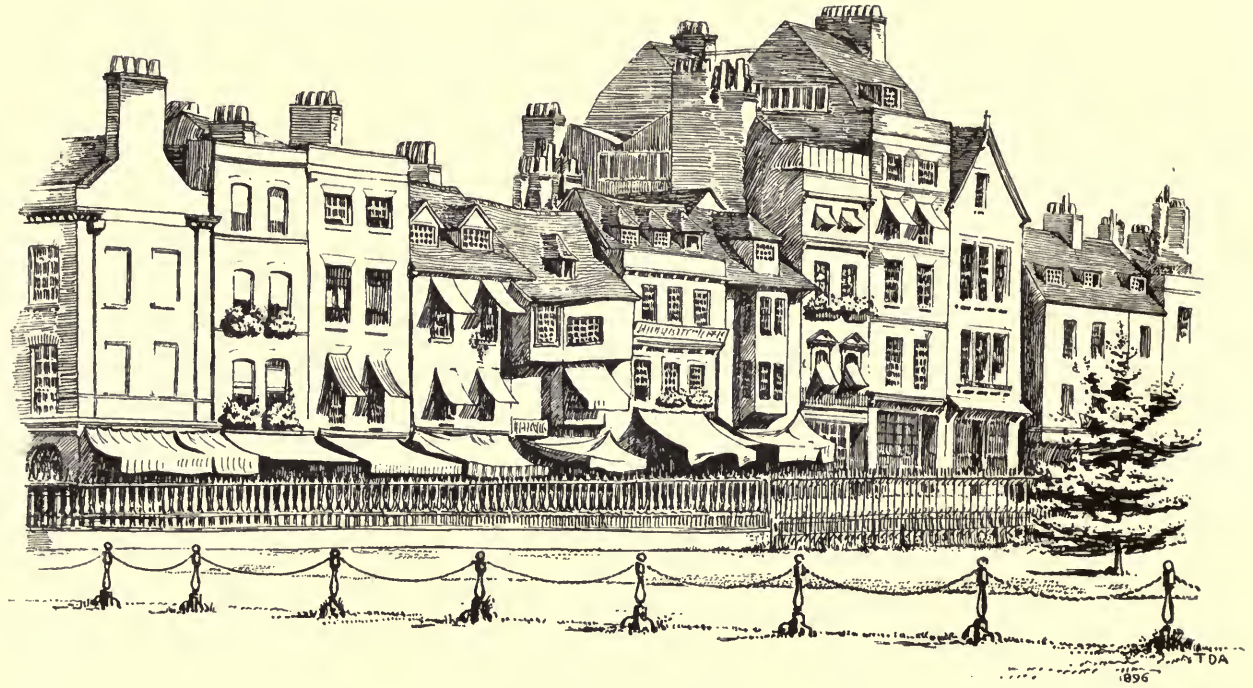

Fig. 7. King's Parade.

the King's Ditch. Thence it was called Preachers' Street. From this street at a point opposite the Round Church, there branched the High Street,—now Trinity Street and King's Parade,—leading to Trumpington Gate. Parallel to this and between it and the river was 'Milne' Street, leading from the Mills at the south end of the town, and continuing northwards to the point where now stands the sundial in the great court of Trinity College; there it joined a cross street which conducted to the High Street. In Mill Street stood most of the colleges. Parts of it still exist under the names 'Queens' Lane' and 'Trinity Hall Lane,' but large sections of it were absorbed on the formation of the sites of King's and Trinity Colleges,[1] when some smaller streets and lanes were also closed. The closing of these lanes leading down to the river, though it was always done by arrangement with the Town Council and for agreed compensation, was a source of trouble between the townsfolk and the University.

The Market Place was both geographically and politically the heart of the medieval town (map, end of vol., and fig. 8, p. 65). It contained all the principal buildings, the Cross, the Tolbooth or Guildhall, the prison, the fountain, and also the stocks and the pillory. Looking on to it or close by were the principal inns, and the old names of the streets shew that the principal trades clustered round it.

The old Market Place was very unlike the large square with which we are now familiar. It was an L-shaped area, the two arms of which occupied the east and south sides of the present square, and this form it preserved till 1849. The north-west part of the present Market Place was covered with houses crowded together in great confusion, extending into St Mary's Churchyard and built up against the walls of the church itself (fig. 14, p. 82). This mass of dwellings was divided by a very narrow alley running north and south, called Smiths' Row, afterwards Well Lane, or Pump Lane,

[1] The northern part, called Le Foule Lane, was not quite in a continuous line with the rest of the street.

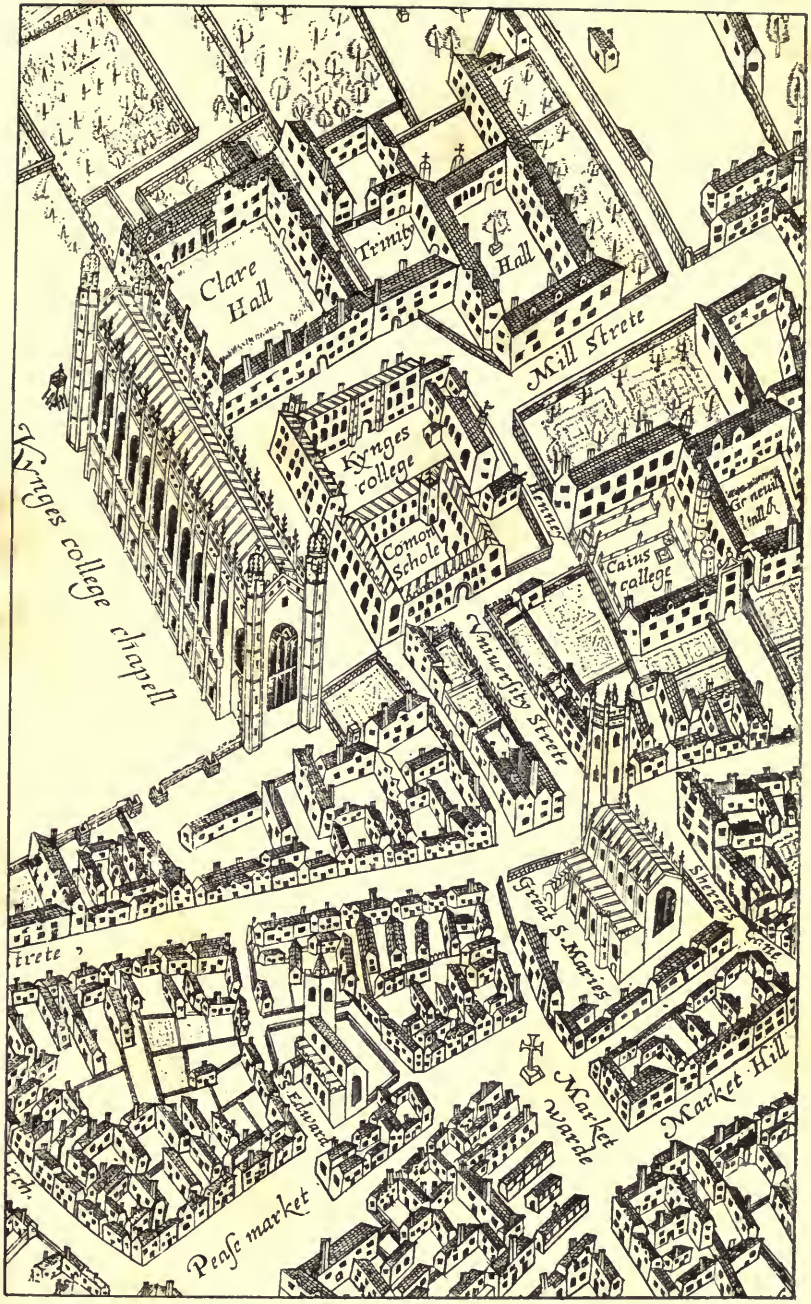

FIG. 8. PART OF HAMOND'S MAP, 1592.

from the common pump which stood in the middle of it, and at a later time known as Warwick Street.[1]

The open Market Place had assumed the L shape described above at an early period. Originally there was a third and southern portion, so that the area then consisted of three irregular quadrangles. The southern of these has been occupied, since the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, by permanent stalls or shambles, which, in 1747, gave way to the Shire House which now forms the front part of the Guildhall. The Shire House, however, was built upon open arches so that the ground floor could be let out for market stalls, as it continued to be till near the middle of the present century. The Town Hall stood on the south side of this southern part of the Market Place. By the erection of the stalls and still more by the building of the Shire House in front of it, it was thrust into the background, as it were, and lost the conspicuous place it formerly held. By the concession of the Shire House to the town and its conversion to municipal purposes, the Guildhall was once more brought to the front. Adjoining the Tolbooth was the Town Gaol. The history of these buildings will be dealt with more fully in another chapter.

The Cross was raised on a flight of stone steps and was protected by a lead-covered roof supported on columns, probably of wood.[2] The whole erection is shewn very clearly, and probably with some degree of accuracy, in Lyne's map of the town made in 1574. This is particularly fortunate as the protecting canopy was destroyed in 1587. In the Treasurers' accounts for that year we

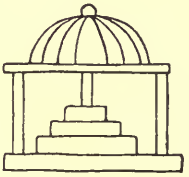

Fig. 9.
The Market Cross.

[1] Eight of these houses were destroyed by fire on Sept. 16, 1849. An Act was obtained in the following year by which the Corporation acquired the sites of the destroyed houses and all the adjoining houses. The latter were then destroyed and the Market Place laid out in its present form in 1855. The total cost of this improvement was £50,000 (Cooper, *Memorials*, III. 314).

[2] In the Town Treasurers' accounts for 1564, the following payments occur: "Item, to y^e^ Painter for payntinge y^e^ market Crosse, xv^s^. iiij^d^. Item, paid to y^e^ plomer for mending y^e^ leads about y^e^ crosse, iiij^s^." In 1569 similar charges are made.

find in the receipts "Item, of Thomas Metcalf for y^e^ old wood of the crosse xx^s^"; and among the payments "Item, for takinge y^e^ leade of y^e^ crosse and for carryinge the same, and for watchinge it the night before it was taken downe, & for takinge downe the tymber, iij^s^. iiij^d^."[1] These entries of course refer only to the canopy, the cross being left intact. In 1639 it was repaired at a cost of £5. 14*s*. 4*d*. Nine years later the Treasurers acknowledge the receipt of six shillings "for A stone parte of y^e^ Crosse sold to M^r^ Nicholson."[2] Mr Nicholson probably bought the head of the cross. The base and shaft were still standing at the time of the Restoration, when the Vice-Chancellor, attended by the whole University, proclaimed Charles the Second as King.

Upon Thursday, being the 10th of May, 1660, the Vicechancellor sent to all the Heads or in their absence the Presidents to come to the Schooles at one of the clock, & bring all their Fellows & Scholars in their Formalitys, which done accordingly, the Vichechancellor & all the Doctors in Scarlet Gowns the Regents and Non Regents & Bacchellors in their hoods turned & all the Schollars in Capps went with lowd Musick before them to the Crosse on the Market Hill. The Vicechancellor Beadles & as many D^rs^ as could stood upon the severall Seats of the Crosse, & the School Keeper standing near them made 3 O yeis. The Vicechancellor dictated to the Beadle who proclaymed the same with an audible voice.[3]

In 1664 the Cross was rebuilt. What was the character of the design we do not know, but it was described a century later as "an handsome square stone pillar of the Ionick Order; on the top of which is an Orb and cross gilt."[4]

The Cross was destroyed in 1786 when the Town Council "ordered that the Market Cross be removed to some more convenient place," and appointed a committee to consider of a more proper place "if they shall think a Cross necessary."[5] Apparently they did not think a cross necessary.

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II. 450.
[2] Ib. III. 424.
[3] MS Baker xxxiii, 337; xlii, 229; and Cooper, *Annals*.
[4] *Cantabrigia Depicta*, 10 (1763).
[5] Cooper, *Annals*, IV. 419.

It would seem that there was a fountain in the Market Place in early times; it is mentioned in 1423.[1] In 1429 the Four-and-Twenty made an ordinance to the following effect:

> That the fountain in the market place should be cleansed of dirt; and that if any one cast dirt or filth into the same, he should pay 6*s.* 8*d.* to the mayor and bailiffs, to their proper use; or if he had not wherewithal to pay that sum, he should be imprisoned for seven days.[2]

We have no indication of the character of this fountain, but it was probably supplied by a well, as it appears that water was not brought from a distance by a conduit till the seventeenth century. In 1567 the Four-and-Twenty voted 20*s.* to George Addam, burgess, towards making a fountain in the market in such place as the Mayor should deem fit; but no further mention of the proposed fountain occurs.[3] Pumps for the use of the public stood in various parts of the town; the only water brought from a distance was that used by the Franciscan Friars.[4] Possibly a part of this supply was diverted into a fountain for the public use, for Sidney Street in which the Franciscans' house stood was formerly called Conduit Street. On the suppression of the house and the foundation of Trinity College, the supply was intercepted by the latter foundation, and now supplies the fountain in the middle of the Great Court.

In 1574 Dr Perne, Dean of Ely and Master of Peterhouse, had proposed to Lord Burghley[5] that water should be brought by a conduit which should intercept at Trumpington Ford an already existing stream running from the springs at Nine Wells in the parish of Great Shelford into the river.

[1] Cooper, *Memorials*, III. 315.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 180.

[3] Ib. II. 231.

[4] The site of their house is now occupied by Sidney Sussex College.

[5] Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the University. Dr Perne is writing on the subject of the plague, which was at that time in the town. "Our synnes is the principall cause," says he. "The other cause as I conjecture, is the corruption of the King's dytch." (*Annals*, II. 322.)

This suggestion was adopted in 1610,[1] when the work was carried out according to a scheme by Edward Wright, M.A., of Gonville and Caius College. Wright was the best mathematician of his day and planned also the New River.[2] The work was done at the joint expense of the Town and University. Its object was the "cleansing easement benefit and commodity of divers and sundry drains and watercourses belonging to divers and sundry colleges halls and houses of students within the University, as also for the cleansing and keeping sweet one common drain or ditch commonly called King's ditch, and for the avoiding the annoyance infection and contagion ordinarily arising through the uncleanness and annoyance thereof."[3] By a system of sluices the numerous watercourses and ditches which then existed in connection with the King's Ditch could be periodically flushed. Some of the water was conveyed in pipes to a fountain in the Market Place (Plate, and fig. 14, p. 82). This was built, also by the University and Corporation, in 1614. An inscription on the conduit states that it was built at the sole charge of Thomas Hobson the famous carrier, but this is certainly incorrect. It was intended to raise the necessary amount by voluntary subscriptions, but it appears that when the work was perfected the 'Undertakers' had considerable difficulty in obtaining repayment of the moneys they had disbursed, and that £100 was still owing to them in 1620. When, in 1856, the Market Place was brought to its present form the old conduit ceased to occupy the central position it had formerly held; it stood almost in the corner of the new Market Place. It was removed in 1855 to the

[1] It was probably not long afterwards that the branch was made from the Spittle-house,—on or near the site of the present Hospital,—to Emmanuel and Christ's Colleges by Mr Frost, "then Manciple of *Emmanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*, since Sword-bearer to the Lord Maior, and since that a Secretary to the Councel of State, a man beyond all exception for integrity of life, an excellent Mathematician, one that brought the water from the Spittle-house to *Emmanuel* and thence to *Christ's* Colledge" (Atwell, *The Faithfull Surveyour*, 81).

[2] *Cambridge Portfolio*, 312.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, III. 37.

corner of Trumpington Road and Lensfield Road; at the same time a new fountain designed by Mr Gordon M. Hills, Architect, was built in the centre of the Market Place.

Having mentioned the principal features of the Market Place we must say something of the arrangement of the Market itself and of the distribution of the different trades in the streets which surrounded it. Early in the present century the north end of the Market Place was the Corn Market, and the south-west part, near S. Mary's Passage, was called the Garden Market; this was probably the old arrangement (fig. 14, p. 82). In addition to these there were several lesser markets in the surrounding streets. "Butcher Row" or "the Butchery" may probably be identified with Wheeler Street, but at a later time it was transferred to Guildhall Street.[1] We have seen that the space under the old Shire House was let to butchers for their stalls and that this was a continuation of ancient usage. The low building at the corner of Petty Cury and Guildhall Street was till recently known as the Shambles and was occupied on market days by about a dozen butcher's stalls. The oat market and the fish market were on Peas Hill, the fish stalls being under penthouse roofs, and the milk market was hard by. Of all these old names the only one which has been preserved is "Butter Row," by which the passage on two sides of the old Shire House was known. The butter stalls probably occupied the back portion of the space under the Shire House. The old name and the passage itself will shortly disappear.

We can trace some of the old trade quarters by the names of the streets. These have been, in almost every case, changed to colourless modern names and can only be made out now from old maps and leases. We still have Butter Row and

[1] In the 15th century the Butchery is described as being in S. Edward's Parish (Lease, Jesus Coll.); Wheeler Street answers to this description but Guildhall Street does not. In 1808 Guildhall Street was called Butcher Row and Wheeler Street "Short Butcher Row" (Lysons). The name Guildhall Street was adopted between 1869 and 1874.

Petty Cury or the 'little cookery,'—'Parva Cokeria' or 'Petite-curye' as it was called in the time of Edward III.,[1] —with its hostels and cook-shops. Shoemaker Row or Cordwainer Street has become Market Street; S. Mary's Gate was formerly Sheerers' Row or Cutlers' Row, being occupied by the shearmen or dressers of cloth.[2] Potters' Row ran northwards out of Sheerers' Row; Smiths' Row, nearly opposite to it, ran southwards past the end of S. Mary's Church and afterwards was called Pump Lane or Warwick Street. The situation of 'Comerslane,'—the wool-combers' lane,—we have not yet discovered; Pulterie Row was *juxta forum* in the 12th of Richard II.; 'the goldsmiths' corner' was in S. Botolph's Parish. In Conduit Street opposite "le Conduitte," at the end of the thirteenth century, Geoffry le Turner had a house between Roger le Turner and Fulco le Turner; not far from them, in Feleper Street—either Sussex Street or King Street—lived William Filtarius, Aunger le Feleper, and so on.

Some streets were named after well-known buildings which were situated in them, such as Preachers' Street in which stood the house of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers, Milne Street leading to the mills, Kings Childer's Lane, Monks' Place and others. But the most striking characteristics of the local names are the preponderance of personal names and the frequency with which street names change. For instance, Thompson's Lane, Aungery's Lane from Mr Robert Aunger, Wheeler Street from Wheeler the basket-maker who lived there in the first half of the present century, and many others now forgotten.

Cambridge seems to have been well supplied with good inns, in some measure, probably, owing to the fairs and especially to that at Stourbridge. These inns presented a comparatively narrow front towards the street. This front

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I. 273.

[2] They took the cloth from the weavers in a rough state and trimmed the nap to an even surface. This occupation is well illustrated in a piece of carving on a miserere from Brampton Church, Hunts, now in the Museum of Archæology and of Ethnology.

contained a large gateway which gave access to a long and narrow court yard; round the yard ran open galleries from which the principal rooms were entered, the ground floor being devoted to menial offices. At the further end of the court another archway led through into a second yard containing the stables. This yard straggled irregularly back for some distance to join a street in the rear. An exit was thus provided for waggons which could not possibly have turned in the confined yard. In this way some inn yards have gradually become public thoroughfares and others may be seen at various stages of transition, while some have been closed and kept private. Rose Crescent marks the site of the *Rose and Crown* yard which had its front gates in the Market Place and a long and very irregular yard running back to Trinity Street. That part of the building which bridged over the entry to the yard has been destroyed, but a part of the old inn is probably preserved in the house on the west side of the passage to which the pretty red brick front has been added. The east part has been rebuilt, but the balcony of the present house occupied by Messrs Reed, silversmiths, is the old balcony of the inn, from which at Elections candidates addressed their constituents.[1] Next door but one to this large inn was the *Angel*, a house, apparently, of almost equal importance. The yard connected Cordwainer Street with Green Street, and is still private. A little further down Cordwainer Street was the *Black Bear*, the yard of which is preserved in Market Passage. On the other side of the way was the *Crane*, the last fragment of which was destroyed about 1885.

Another group of important inns was situated in Petty Cury. Close to the Barnwell Gate was the *Wrestlers*, a very picturesque house of the early part of the seventeenth century, recently destroyed (fig. 10, p. 73). Further up the street were the *Falcon* and the *Lion*. The latter is almost the only hostelry in the town, still in use as such, which

[1] White, *The Cambridge Visitors' Guide*, 218.

preserves its primitive plan. The buildings, however, though probably in part medieval, have been cased with brick in recent times. The *Falcon* has now ceased to be used as an

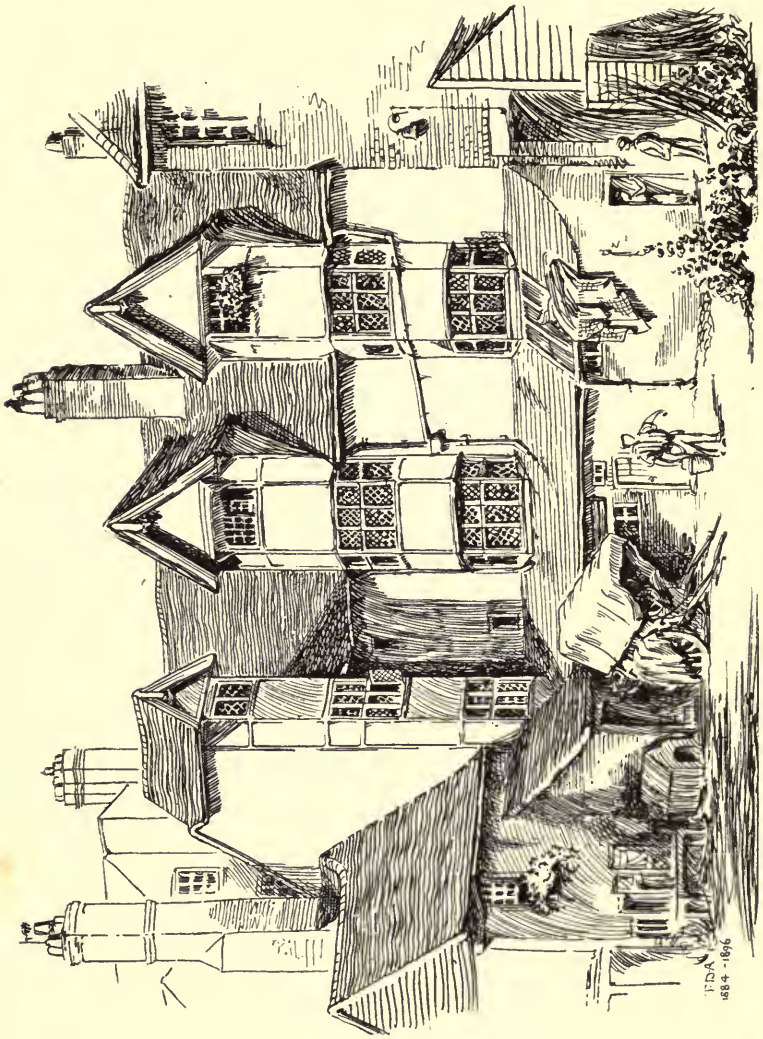

FIG. 10. THE WRESTLERS' YARD.

inn, but it is a very good example of the old arrangement (fig. 11, p. 75). Till quite recently the court was entirely

surrounded by the timber buildings of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, and the west and south sides still stand almost unaltered. The buildings are in three floors, the two upper of which have open galleries, projecting slightly over the ground storey. The galleries probably ran all round the court originally, and gave accommodation to the Quality when a dramatic performance was being given in the inn yard; their inferiors meanwhile stood about in the yard or pit, in the centre of which the stage was erected. The galleries on the east side appear to have been destroyed in the last century to form a large reception room, the three round-headed windows of which appear in our illustration (fig. 11). Similar reception rooms are found at the *Lion* and also at the *Three Tuns*. The latter house stood at the corner of the Market and S. Edward's Passage, and has now been divided up into two dwelling-houses, the larger of which has the elegant brick front looking towards the Cury; "To the Three Tuns, where we drank pretty hard and many healths to the King &c.," says Pepys.[1]

Another large inn was the *Eagle and Child*, now the *Eagle*, Bene't Street. This house appears to have survived as a posting establishment into the days of stage coaches when many of the other old inns had become private houses. It was here that, in the good old days, the famous Rutland Club, of which we shall have to speak in a later chapter, was wont to meet; it is called The Post Office in maps of the early part of the present century; the greater part is now a private house. The *Dolphin*, at the Bridge Street end of All Saints' Passage, appears to have been a place of importance. Thomas Cranmer lived here for some time with his wife, the niece of the landlady,—"Black Joan of the Dolphin" as she is said to have been called.[2] *The Cardinal's Cap* was a large inn on the site of which the Pitt Press now stands, and *The Sun* and *The Blue Boar* were opposite

[1] *Pepys' Diary*, 25 Feb. 1660.

[2] *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I. 145.

Trinity College. Some remains of *The White Horse*, which stood between S. Catharine's College and old King's

FIG. 11. THE FALCON YARD.

Lane,[1] are preserved in the Archæological Museum.[2] Some

[1] The lane formerly lay further to the north.

[2] And illustrated in the *Cambridge Portfolio*.